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Need for CEMA Cooperation Still Exists

90UI0308A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 3, Jan 90 p 2

[Report by special correspondent Yu. Popov: "CEMA: Second Wind]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who led the Soviet delegation to the 45th CEMA session that took place last week in Sofia, has called it a turning-point session for our community. It was not just a regular meeting; in fact, the fate of CEMA was decided at it. Ways for radical perestroyka interest the entire system of economic cooperation among the CEMA states, and a switch to economic methods, the extensive use of market relations, and bringing our ties closer to world conditions were discussed.

The interest shown by the world public and the press in various countries in this event was unusually great. There was no lack of various kinds of predictions, some quite pessimistic. In some foreign newspapers it was claimed that the economic organization of the socialist countries was almost moribund and could hardly be resuscitated. "What are the real chances that CEMA will disintegrate?," "What must be done to halt the breakup of the council?"—these and similar questions were hailed down on the Soviet and other delegations from the moment they appeared in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, where the session took place.

The first hours of its work, however, dispelled the gloomy predictions of Western experts. It became obvious that the rapid processes of renewal that the socialist countries are now experiencing are not changing their fundamental attitude toward CEMA, which is regarded as a mutually useful collective organ for economic cooperation. All those who spoke confirmed its vital need for further development by the member states.

It must be candidly stated that in and of itself the assumption that it might be possible to disrupt the economic ties between the socialist countries has no kind of serious basis. It should not be forgotten that this association of states with stable and vitally important economic links has taken shape over decades. These links have helped the CEMA member countries to combine their efforts in the economic sphere, mutually complement their national economies, create a number of common conditions, standards, and norms for cooperation, and in general move to a new economic level. "We are aware," K. Luft, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, said in an interview, "that our republic would not possess the kind of capacities that it now does if we had not had these 40 years of relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries within the CEMA framework. And we are very satisfied that none of the delegations that has come here has raised the question of the breakup of CEMA but has talked about urgent radical changes to it."

Mutual economic interest has fully retained its importance today. The natural orientation of industry taking into account the territorial proximity of countries is being maintained, and the normal reproduction processes in them are better guaranteed thanks to the stable commodity exchange that has been established. It is impossible to break these close links without unpredictable harm to any of the members. During a meeting with Bulgarian and Soviet journalists, responding to questions, N.I. Ryzhkov emphasized: "...Simply to leave CEMA or destroy the links that have been established would be ruinous. We are so integrated and there are so many mutual ties that today the entire economy would have to be destroyed. Serious integration processes have been taking place for almost 40 years and they have not been done blindly. To think today of withdrawing from the community and refusing to maintain relations would be the equivalent of suicide."

True, some correspondents from publications in the West did try to speculate on a statement made by a Czechoslovak representative. However, at the very first news conference the deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak government, Vladimir Dloughy, decisively refuted these fabrications. "We have come to Sofia," he stated, "without any intention of withdrawing from CEMA."

In the unanimous opinion of those present, however, the old methods for CEMA activity are now played out and have started to act as a brake on the development of cooperation. No one had any doubt that fundamental changes are needed. At the session there was extensive, frank, and constructive discussion about the nature of these transformations. Some representatives of the mass media (about 200 of them had gathered in the Bulgarian capital) threw themselves into the task of finding differences in the positions of those attending the meeting in order to present them in the form of something "hot." But these searches were absolutely unnecessary: all the delegations severely criticized the work of CEMA and its mechanism, methods, and mutual economic links, hiding nothing from anyone. They openly expressed different approaches and opinions on ways to effect a radical renewal of CEMA.

This kind of self-criticism by those attending the forum made it possible for the first time for many years for the session to become the place for an in-depth, businesslike, and interested exchange of opinions and a realistic evaluation of the present situation resulting from the rapid changes in most of the socialist countries. "I have worked for a long time in CEMA," said Stefan Stanku, a member of the Romanian delegation, "but I have never seen anything like this. For the first time there has been open dialogue, exchanges of opinion, and very direct and candid discussion. It is unprecedented. If we succeed in preserving this method and style we will surely succeed in finding the correct solutions that will enable us to give new life to CEMA. We are in favor of that."

Those who spoke rightly noted that at a time when the processes of renewal have started so dynamically in the CEMA member countries, their economic links have remained unaffected, preserved, as it were. The entire financial, economic mechanism for their mutual cooperation also remains unchanged, and this has turned out to be incapable of functioning. The question was legitimately raised as to whether CEMA can exist in this form, and whether it satisfies the needs of socialist economic cooperation. The session provided an unambiguous answer: Of course not, since CEMA should not be divorced from the advance of countries along the path of profound political and economic reforms. Therefore, as was repeatedly noted at the news conferences and in an interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, either we really create an effective mechanism for the foreign economic activity of the community countries or CEMA will lose its importance as such.

Despite some of the prophecies, the session chose a course aimed not at destruction but at seeking out ways to strengthen economic relations. Obviously this is not a simple task. Virtually all the delegations expressed their own fundamental ideas, although within common outlines, about approaches and directions for radical changes in CEMA activity, and for economic cooperation. As is known, our delegation also set forth its view of the problems. No one remained indifferent to the Soviet proposal to use freely convertible currency for mutual accounting for the CEMA countries, while in mutual trade to use prices in the world market, and that the first steps in this direction should be taken in 1991. This very radical measure would undoubtedly help to place the entire system of mutual economic cooperation on a new economic basis and bring it closer to the conditions generally accepted in world practice, which would be in line with the nature of the reforms now taking place in the countries and would enable their effective inclusion in the international division of labor.

Our proposal was basically supported and greeted with understanding by those attending the meeting, although there was also varying shades of opinion. For example, the Polish representatives expressed themselves in favor of taking the first practical steps already this year to switch to the new accounts system, and they underscored Poland's readiness to move immediately to application of the new decisions even with the participation of a limited number of interested countries. They are convinced that this could become a kind of "economic laboratory" for the whole of CEMA. Czechoslovakia favors the principles of mutual accounts proposed not from 1991 but from the end of the next 5-year plan, while Vietnam favors stage-by- stage introduction of the innovation with the help of specific agreed measures. The GDR also spoke in favor of a gradual transition to accounts in freely convertible currency and it has arranged jointly with the USSR to prepare the necessary preconditions for this.

Other differences could also be cited in the views on particular aspects of the fundamental changes in the council and in economic cooperation. Thus, in the opinion of the Hungarian representatives, the switch to the new model for cooperation of the market type using price conditions in the world market and the creation of a new currency system for CEMA countries cannot take place immediately in all countries but should at first be in those that are best prepared for it. Some delegates proposed a switch to bilateral cooperation, making reference to the presence in each state of specific features, while others proposed that they be sensibly combined in multilateral cooperation.

This diversity of approaches, however, did not stop those attending the session from reaching a general unanimous conclusion on the need for radical renewal of the mechanism for CEMA cooperation and activity. It was decided to conduct a careful discussion of countries' proposals on these matters and draw up plans as soon as possible for new fundamental documents for CEMA. It is a question of appropriate plans that provide for change in the entire system of mutual links and of the mechanism for multilateral cooperation and the functions and aims of CEMA and its charter. To this end a special commission was set up. Various schedules for its work were proposed. Czechoslovakia, for example, named the end of February or beginning of March so that the commission proposals can be discussed at a CEMA extraordinary session during the first half of the year. V. Dloughy told a correspondent the following: "Although our desire to hold a session in May was not accepted, in my opinion the current meeting has been a first step to what might be called a fundamental change in CEMA activity."

Other delegates also offered positive assessments of the session's work. Here are just some of them. B. Kulski, the Polish state secretary for foreign affairs and delegation member: "What did we expect from the session? First and foremost a specific approach to the realities and features of the countries and due consideration of their special features, and work on fundamental proposals whose implementation would promote radical transformations in the national economies of our states and a renewal of CEMA, and make it open to the world economy.

"How do I assess the results of the this session? Briefly, it has coped with tasks set for it and created an opportunity for in-depth discussion and the adoption of agreed decisions." Marin Petrov Marinov, CEMA deputy secretary: "This has been an unusual meeting. Those present were unanimously in favor not of 'cosmetic' changes but profound reform of our organization. It was first and foremost a dismantling of the command-administrative method, of its activity, and its organization on economic foundations using market tools. It was also an intention to bring the main economic element—the enterprises—within the orbit of cooperation, and to make them the main subject of ties. It was also giving consideration to the diversity of forms and methods that have now emerged in the management of our states' economies." Ramon Pomes Hernandez, a member of the

Cuban delegation: "I evaluate the session highly since it signifies a qualitative leap in the field of cooperation among the socialist countries. The agreements that have been reached indicate our mutual understanding and our mutual relations. I hope that the commission that has been set up will find the most suitable solutions to those acute problems that face us. I also think that it is precisely Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia that will receive from other states definite support so that they may raise their level of development and come closer to the level of the European CEMA countries."

These and other statements by those who worked so tensely for two weeks in Sofia assess from various aspects the work that has become a turning point in the fate of CEMA. And one way or another they all agree on the main thing, namely, that a good foundation has been laid for future extraordinarily difficult but objectively necessary transformations and for radical reform of the mechanism for cooperation among the states of our community. This will require enormous effort from everyone. But a first and very important step has already been made to give CEMA a second wind.

Reports on Gerasimov 31 Jan News Briefing

View on SLBM Ban Reaffirmed

LD3101164790 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—The Soviet Union has not changed its position vis-a-vis a ban on short approach submarine-launched ballistic missiles, believing that such a ban could markedly reduce the threat of a surprise attack, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov's statement should have allayed concerns in the U.S. Congress that the Soviet Union might change its approach to the conclusion of a corresponding agreement.

"The Soviet Union still advocates such an agreement," he said.

"At the same time, the Soviet side believes that the United States unfoundedly reduces the solution of this problem only to a ban on short approach SLBM's.

"There will be sufficient time to receive a warning about a strategic missile attack only if the approach of submarines to each other's continental territory is limited."

Gerasimov said another danger is posed by strategic offensive armaments manufactured with the use of stealth technology.

He added that the two sides could ban the flight of heavy bombers and the deployment of aircraft carriers, surface ships and submarines carrying long-range cruise missiles in zones from which strikes could be delivered at the continental part of the other side's territory.

Recording of SLBM Statement

LD0102094790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] At the Press Center of USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a briefing has taken place for Soviet and foreign journalists on the current issues in international politics. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported in particular that concern had arisen in the American Congress with regard to the fact that the Soviet Union, contrary to its former approach, was refuting, according to them, the possibility of an accord being reached on the banning of ballistic missiles with short flight times on submarines. Recently, 38 members of the U.S. Congress sent a letter to Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze containing an appeal for the Soviet Union's attitude to the American proposal to be reexamined.

In this connection, Comrade Gerasimov stated the following:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The issue of the need for a ban on these missiles has already been discussed for a lengthy period at the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic offensive weapons. The introduction of such a measure could lessen the danger of a surprise attack. The Soviet Union has not altered its stand in this respect. Just as before, we are in favor of such a mutual accord. We do, however, think that a ban on ballistic missiles with short flight times on submarines cannot fail to be of a partial and selective nature. In the officially submitted American proposal, it is a question of solely banning the tests of ballistic missiles with short flight times; then what should one do about those types of these missiles that have already undergone testing for their possible use on short flights? If these missiles are not eliminated, observing the accord, then it would seem that the side that has already conducted a test of this type will have the advantage in carrying out a suprise attack. Besides that, in order to provide both sides with sufficient time for warning of a strategic missile attack, this can only be done if there is an accord establishing limits restricting the approach of submarines to the continental territory of another country. But there are more aspects to this problem. The surprise nature of an attack may be aided by the secretive approach towards the target. From our point of view, strategic offensive weapons manufactured using the stealth technology present a great danger to us. In this respect, it could be a question of banning flights by heavy bombers, the sailing of aircraft carriers and surface ships, and submarines with long-range cruise missiles in zones from which a strike could be made on the continental part of the territory of another country.

The Soviet Union proposes discussing all these questions. The American side, however, does not wish to discuss them. [end recording]

Resignation Report Refuted

LD3101134790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1316 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow 31 Jan (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing today refuted a report by the Moscow correspondent of the U.S. television company CNN, which it broadcast last Tuesday, that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is supposedly about to resign from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Noting that "the drive for sensation, the aspiration to be first with such a piece of news, should in any professional journalist be combined with proper responsibility," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman reminded his listeners, and also that Mikhail Gorbachev himself had refuted these rumors in a brief conversation on the eve of his meeting with the president-elect of Brazil Fernando Collor de Mello, who is in Moscow on a visit.

Gennadiy Gerasimov also reported that Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, had informed him today that there were no grounds for rumors of this kind.

Baker Visit Postponed

LD3101133490 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—According to a mutual understanding, the visit to the USSR by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will be put off by one day, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing today. Gerasimov said that Baker will arrive in Moscow on February 7.

U.S. Military Budget Noted

LD3101222490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—[Passage omitted] The Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the U.S. draft federal budget, which envisions a 2 percent real cut in military expenditure in 1991. He noted that the constructive parallel actions of the USSR and the United States toward reducing military spending—the USSR is cutting its military budget this year by 14 percent—might, in the long term, free additional amounts for the purposes of economic development and promote the strengthening of international stability and security. [passage omitted]

Helicopters Supplied to Nicaragua

LD3101140890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 January, (TASS)—"Sending four helicopters to Nicaragua does not go beyond ordinary commercial practices conducted on the basis of existing obligations for deliveries of civilian property." This was the official statement delivered at a briefing today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Informaion Department, commenting on the reports by some Western mass media that Mi-17 helicopters from the USSR had been unloaded in the port of Corinto (Nicaragua), and on the allegations emerging in connection with this that the Soviet Union had thereby breached the moratorium on supplying weapons to Nicaragua.

Gennadiy Gerasimov confirmed that the USSR had indeed "sent the Nicaraguan side four civilian-model Mi-17 helicopters" in accordance with the agreement concluded in February 1988 between the governments of the two countries, but at the same time particularly stressed that "by agreement with the Nicaraguan leadership the Soviet Union has not carried out deliveries of weapons for that country since the start of 1989."

Pol Pot Actions Discussed

LD3101223690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1428 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—The Pol Pot leadership in the past would secretly transfer some of the Khmer population from their secret camps into Cambodia. At the present time, however, this is being done openly and on a massive scale, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate at a briefing today. He stressed that the Pol Potites unceremoniously drive the refugees even from the so-called "open camps" which receive aid via the United Nations and international charitable organizations.

It is well known, the Soviet diplomat pointed out, that the Pol Pot bosses have recourse to recruiting even under-age adolescents from among the refugees to use them as cannon fodder in military actions against government troops.

The intensifying forcible transfering of refugees by the Pol Potites is clearly contrary to the principles of voluntary repatriation agreed at the international conference on Cambodia in Paris, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed. Violence against refugees is a trampling of the most elementary human rights and a challenge to international public opinion.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative pointed out the necessity of using the whole authority of the international community to put an end to the crude arbitrariness of the Pol Potites.

Briefing on UN Project, Israeli Relations

PM3101131990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by "our correspondent" G. Deyev at USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center: "UN Project To Save Aral Sea"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, spoke within the framework of a routine briefing at the Foreign Ministry Press Center, describing the results of the consultative conference of nature conservation and diplomatic departments in Nairobi.

"An understanding was reached at the conference that it should be of a practical nature and become a notable milestone in the international community's efforts to prevent the deterioration of the world environment," he stressed.

"During our stay in Nairobi we signed an agreement with Doctor M. Tolba, executive director of the UN Environment Program, on the participation of international specialists in the elimination of the unfavorable ecological situation which has taken shape in the USSR around the Aral Sea. Over the next 24 months, as of 1 February this year, international specialists will take part in an analysis of the situation in the Aral Sea region and the elaboration of a plan of action which will then be placed at the basis of an international program to restore ecological balance in this region.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked S.M. Morozov, director of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection international projects center, to describe in detail the international project to save the Aral Sea.

"The actions undertaken by our center and by the country's leading scientific institutions, ministries, and departments," he said, "look very efficient. In less than a year draft proposals have been prepared and submitted for approval (and the document was signed today) on the implementation of specific measures to save the Aral Sea with the participation of very large foreign organizations. The study of the problems of the Aral Sea will become a model for future global strategy to manage similar regions and water resources in other countries. The creation of an overall plan of actions, methodology, and single approach toward the solution of very acute ecological problems is one of the tasks of the international project. Considering the nature of the UN Environmental Program, the first phase of the project is geared for a period of 2 years during which it is proposed to study the problem as a whole, to compile a plan of actions, and to elaborate a mechanism to implement it. The project will be fulfilled with the participation of the broad scientific public, and we plan to involve experts from the developed and developing countries. At present it is hard to say how many years will be needed to restore ecological balance in the Aral Sea region. But it is clear that huge capital investments are required from us—tens and perhaps hundreds of billions of rubles."

The main executors will be the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography and a specially created center for the Aral Sea. It has been decided to involve in the work the Scientific Center for Desertification in Ashkhabad and also the International Institute for Lakes with headquarters in Japan. The project's initial cost for the first 2 years will be $1.35 million.

The briefing was addressed by V.P. Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration. He announced that Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, has made a representation to A. Levin, leader of the Israeli consular group in Moscow. In particular it was stated that the development of the situation in the Near East has recently been seen in the world, and not without grounds, with real hope that real movement will finally begin in the settlement of this conflict of such long duration in the region.

Against this background the position of some Israeli leaders sounds a discordant note. The impression arises that ever new obstacles are being deliberately created on the path of the peace process. Indeed, how else can we assess the statements of a number of Israeli politicians, including the head of government himself, regarding the need to keep the Arab lands seized by Israel in order to settle on them the incoming immigrants, including those from the USSR.

The Israeli leadership is thereby reaffirming its course toward annexing the occupied Arab territories and rejecting the search for compromise solutions of the Near East conflict. Behind this policy of "faits accomplis" there can be frankly discerned expansionist plans to create a "great Israel," primarily at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people.

Nor can we leave unheeded the fact that in reinforcing its occupation of the lands it has seized, Israel is issuing a challenge to the United Nations, which has frequently demanded that it not commit actions which change the situation on the occupied territories, including the demographic situation.

Another aspect of the question is also not a matter of indifference to us. USSR legislation is being brought into line with international norms, including freedom of entry and exit. But we cannot fail to be perturbed by the fact that a certain number of people of Jewish nationality leaving the USSR will, having succumbed to propaganda, be a tool for the fulfillment of illegal plans denounced by international public opinion. We resolutely oppose people leaving the USSR being used, with a risk to their safety, for the forcible expulsion of Palestinians from land which belongs to them. The Israeli leadership should be aware of the dangerous consequences of these actions.

A. Levin said that he would pass this announcement on to his government immediately.

Belgian Talk of Pullout Causes NATO Concern

PM0102100190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Vladimir Peresada dispatch under rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Brussels Surprise"]

[Text] Brussels—By starting to talk about the possible return home of 25,000 Belgian servicemen stationed in the FRG, Belgian Defense Minister Guy Coeme has broken a taboo that had existed in Atlantic circles.

In line with NATO defense strategy, six alliance members keep troops on FRG territory: the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Canada. Belgium has become the first country to openly discuss the prospects for their withdrawal from the banks of the Rhine. And although the defense minister was not talking about a decision that has already been made—merely about an intention—it has caused a rumpus in Atlantic circles.

NATO Headquarters—located a stone's throw away from Coeme's department—reacted with a warning which boiled down to stating that "any important changes in the system of national or collective defense should be subject to consultations within the entire alliance." Most NATO countries, judging by press

reports, also follow this "axiom." Moreover, people there are scared that Belgium's intention could be an example to others.

London is not concealing its annoyance, the newspaper LE LIBRE BELGIQUE wrote. In their relations with East European countries the West European states should take account of existing treaties and obligations—be they in the economic or defense spheres, Prime Minister M. Thatcher stated in a House of Commons speech. Sources close to the British Government expressed "concern and regret" in connection with the fact that the Belgian minister's statements go beyond the framework of the Vienna talks.

Washington tried to play down the importance of the "Brussels surprise." The question of conventional armed forces cuts in Europe is already being discussed, an official U.S. State Department spokesman said.

Paris, judging by everything, is alarmed. French Foreign Minister R. Dumas stated that the West European countries' presence in the FRG "reflects relations of particular solidarity..., which should not be covered by the Vienna talks."

Certain FRG Defense Ministry leaders, the BELGA News Agency reported, called Coeme's statement a "blow to NATO solidarity." A representative of the Federal Government press service said: "We consider it very important for these questions to be examined at NATO alliance level." At the same time, he noted that "Coeme's ideas" could be a subject for international discussion if the Vienna talks prove a success.

"NATO," the Belgian newspaper LE SOIR wrote," has always been afraid that the Soviet Union has a conventional force advantage in central Europe. But the military-political situation has changed; nowadays nobody in the West believes in the possibility of a massive Soviet invasion. The question is already being raised of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Thus, it is perhaps time, on the basis of Belgium's position, to start a wide-ranging discussion about what direction the second stage of the Vienna talks should take."

Clearly, Belgium is not alone in thinking this. The Hague followed Brussels in providing a similar signal. Netherlands Defense Minister R. ter Beek even went further than Coeme, proposing to parliament a concrete plan for the withdrawal from the FRG in 1991-92 of 750 men from the Netherlands contingent stationed there. And this proposal is just part of a plan aimed at cutting Netherlands military spending and reducing its contribution to NATO's commitments.

NATO's "junior partners" do not want to sit idly by when they can see that the military detente that is beginning in Europe could provide major savings of wasted money. And, in my view, they are doing the right thing.

Easing of Cocom Restrictions Urged

PM3101170190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by G. Deynichenko under rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Burden of Past"]

[Text] It would seem that any sane person should be satisfied to learn that the West is finally making efforts to normalize trade with the East. Indeed, measures are being elaborated on this score but they bring no particular satisfaction: They are incomplete, inconclusive, and irresolute. That is how people are assessing the plans announced in Washington last week to ease the export rules by which Cocom is guided.

Cocom is the coordinating committee for the control of exports to the socialist countries and one of the most odious instruments of the cold war. For a little over 4 decades the committee, forbidding the export of so-called "strategic goods" to the socialist countries, has impeded the normal development of economic ties between East and West. Cocom's forbidden lists include 100,000 types of goods and, using these lists, the committee can, when it wants, prevent the conclusion of any commercial deal. Actually, the word committee is a convention here. Everyone knows that although it includes 17 countries (the NATO members, except Iceland, and Japan and Australia) the Americans always have the final say.

As time proceeds, the more obvious it becomes that the prohibitive measures in trade do not accord with Europe's economic needs and modern political thinking. Previously, Western business circles used to reproach COCOM for being divorced from reality. Now an unprecedented wave of criticism and a no less powerful avalanche of demands to abandon the obsolete practice of trade restrictions has descended on the United States, the "most vigilant" Cocom country, as the Paris newspaper LE MONDE puts it.

It must be said that even before COCOM would from time to time (and in recent years increasingly frequently) review its lists of banned good for export as they started being produced in the USSR and the East European countries. But now the conservation of a system of bans does not suit the U.S. allies and at the committee's forthcoming session in mid-February serious complaints may arise against the senior partner.

Under these circumstances, a session of the U.S. National Security Council adopted a recommendation on the "gradual easing of restrictions" on trade with the East. But will it satisfy business circles? In accordance with the U.S. recommendations, the banned lists are not being repealed at all, it is simply that some positions are being removed. This will make it possible to sell to East Europe some types of computers, machine tools, and communications facilities, but far from all or the most sophisticated. The plans for "liberalization" extend to far from all of East Europe, only to Hungary and Poland.

With time Czechoslovakia and the GDR may join them. But there is no talk at all of the Soviet Union. It is too early, it is said.

Understandably, the Americans may be distrustful of the prospects for economic cooperation with our country because of the difficulties which perestroyka is encountering and because of ideological considerations. But we are put on guard by the persistence with which high-ranking officials in the U.S. Administration have suddenly begun to express the idea that the Soviet Union remains a "military superpower" and that changes are all very well but the West, as General Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, put it, must "keep its powder dry and its guns oiled." How then, if you follow the general's logic, is it possible to abandon Cocom's prohibitive practice in this situation.

In Europe the theme of the "threat from the East" has not worked for a long time. That is why it is easy to imagine that, by artificially cutting off the enormous Soviet market with the aid of this simple ploy, the United States risks creating distrust among its allies as to the thrust of its "plans to liberalize trade." Since the end of last year the European press, in discussing the outlines for these plans, has been asking: What do they actually mean—a review of position or cosmetic repair? It looks as though they mean a cosmetic repair job.

To judge by U.S. newspaper reports the decision to review Cocom's activity was taken in an atmosphere of keen struggle in the U.S. Administration between the supporters of the lifting of trade restrictions and those who see in this a danger to the interests of U.S. security. This most likely also explains the halfhearted nature of the measures Washington has announced. Realizing that this halfheartedness suits none of its allies, the United States has made clear that on instructions from the President a document is being prepared which examines the question of "how to adapt the policy of export control to the changing strategic picture." This document will be ready some day... But in the meanwhile the pace of U.S. "perestroyka" is obviously lagging behind the times: The burden of the past is too heavy.

Fifth Anniversary of Delhi Appeal Noted

PM0102103590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Veniamin Shurygin article under rubric "View From Moscow": "Appeal by Collective Reason"]

[Text] The termination of the arms race at present is an urgent necessity... But this termination must not be a goal in itself. It ought to be immediately followed by a substantial reduction of nuclear forces leading to the total destruction of nuclear weapons and the ultimate goal—general and complete disarmament. This appeal to the peoples, parliaments, and governments of the whole world, and primarily to the nuclear powers, was heard 5 years ago from Delhi.

It was contained in a declaration—a document signed by the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden. Why was it that the heads of state and government from countries which are tens of thousands of kilometers apart, inhabited by peoples with different skin colors and ways of life, and pursuing different foreign policies, put aside their affairs of state and arrived in India's capital to collectively express alarm over the development of events in the world?

The participants in the meeting explained that they were inspired to do this by the broad positive response received in the world by their previous (1984) address to the nuclear powers to ban the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapon systems and their delivery vehicles. The majority of UN member countries, including the Soviet Union, responded positively. Driven by a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind which, as a result of the arms race, was sliding toward nuclear self-destruction, the participants in the Delhi meeting used their declaration to draw world attention to the need for an immediate solution to this paramount question of world politics. They showed a way to tame the nuclear jinni which has been released from its bottle.

The declaration—in terms of both its contents and the list of participants in the meeting who signed it—testified with utmost clarity that the idea of eliminating nuclear weapons had captured the minds of people in different parts of the globe to such an extent that the time had come to put forward specific proposals in this regard. One such bold initiative was the 15 January 1986 statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, about the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

The appearance of terrifying mass destruction weapons brought to life a new political thinking as regards the norms and rules of human society. Incorporating the spiritual values of the past, it is based on recognition of the priority of universal human interests in international politics in the nuclear age, and proceeds from the objective reality that mankind today has come up against the most acute global problems which can be solved only through joint efforts by the entire world community.

The declaration of the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, which was signed by the leaders of the Soviet Union and India, was described by the world press as the manifesto of new thinking. The world is one, one of its fundamental principles reads, and its security is indivisible. West and East, North and South—regardless of social systems, ideologies, religions, and races—must unite in a shared commitment to disarmament and development.

The participants in the Delhi meeting drew special attention to the interlinkage between disarmament and development. Of course, in the event of large-scale disarmament programs being implemented, the nuclear powers must place part of the resources thus released at

the disposal of developing states. But this presentation of the question makes sense only if the "third world" countries themselves terminate the arms race. It is well known, however, that today they waste gigantic sums on armaments and keep many millions of people under arms. According to world press reports, the growth rates of "third world" countries' military expenditures in the last few decades have been more than twice as fast as the rates of their economic development.

Disarmament is the paramount point today, none of the fundamental problems of this century and the coming centuries can be solved without it. This is why any success along this path is especially valuable. Such successes have already been scored. They include primarily the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles in December 1987. The present international climate is helping more than ever before, the solution of the problem of mankind's survival and primarily of disarmament. This is indicated by the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and U.S. President G. Bush held 2-3 December last year. Their productive exchange of opinions on a broad range of urgent questions of the international situation, and the ensuing high degree of mutual understanding, enabled political observers to talk of an end to the "cold war" between the two largest nuclear powers, of a real possibility to reach agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic arms in the very near future.

A graphic illustration of the extent to which the world situation has changed in terms of humanizing relations between people can be seen in the seminar on military doctrines being held within the framework of talks between the 35 CSCE states. Representatives of the top military leadership from 31 CSCE states are taking part in it. A fruitful professional dialogue is being conducted on questions which were top military secrets until very recently. Direct businesslike contacts are being established between military leaders from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and the degree of trust between them is being enhanced.

As we can see, much has been done through joint efforts in the last 5 years to materialize the collective appeal by the "Delhi Six." However, so far there are no grounds for complacency, for the slackening of efforts in disarmament questions, for further reduction of the level of military confrontation. It remains a fact, for example, that even today the USSR's territory is surrounded by hundreds of U.S. military bases where a 500,000-strong grouping of troops is deployed and that the U.S. Navy's offensive potential is still being built up. NATO's doctrine of "flexible response" and "nuclear deterrence" envisages the first use of nuclear weapons under certain circumstances. According to a report by Professor G. Kuttyna of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to the Committee for Universal Security, the United States now has 12,581 nuclear warheads in its arsenals. Some of them have a yield which is 100 times the destructive power of the U.S. atom bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima. They all are in service to equip a supposed "Soviet threat." The Pentagon is commissioning new nuclear weapon delivery systems: the B-2 strategic bomber, "Midgetman" missiles, Tomcat-mounted SEA, mobile ICBM's, submarine-launched "Trident-2" ballistic missiles, "Lance" missiles, and air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

High-ranking U.S. military and diplomatic circles express different opinions on the question of reducing military potential to reasonable sufficiency levels. In a recent statement, General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that—in his opinion—the Soviet threat is diminishing from the military-political point of view. And even though the Soviets maintain a sizable military potential against us and our allies in Europe, the general went on, the threat is now the smallest it has been in the last few decades. Something fundamental has changed, and we must adapt our strategy to this new reality.

The general did not specify how. True, if it is a question of moving from mutual understanding to collaboration on questions of reducing the stockpiled arms. But some people in Washington are drawing different conclusions from recent events.

"By turning inward, the Kremlin has left the United States as the world's only true superpower," John Barry and Evan Thomas wrote in NEWSWEEK. "No other country has the global reach of the U.S. military. The United States may find itself playing world policeman in the manner of 19th-century Britain, patrolling sea lanes and intervening to restore the balance of power in regional disputes." This is how the imperial syndrome makes itself known in the United States.

Hence, evidently, Washington's recent actions in Panama and the Philippines. But we are living at the end of the 20th, rather than in the 19th century. In the nuclear age, such delusions are a mortal danger for mankind's future.

People will have to overcome numerous obstacles before they finally resolve the problem of survival. This is why, when talking about the preservation of peace and the deliverance of mankind from the threat of nuclear self-destruction on the planet, there cannot be any impartial and neutral observers. No task today is more persistent or more humane than the task of combining all efforts for the attainment of this lofty goal. And our generation must be the one to perform it.

United States & Canada

U.S. Regards 'State of Union' Address

LD0102200790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2220 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, 1 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondents Vladimir Matyash and Andrey Fedyashin report:

U.S. President George Bush stated here on Wednesday that the world is experiencing "a period of great transition, of great hope" and that the time has come "to augment our new relations with the Soviet Union," "to support and encourage the peaceful process of democratic changes toward democracy and economic opportunities" in the USSR. The head of the administration was giving the traditional "State of the Union" address at a joint session of both houses of Congress, in which the main areas of foreign and domestic policy of the administration for the forthcoming year are set forth.

Formulating the administration's stance in the field of strategic relations with the Soviet Union, the U.S. President pointed out that the United States "recognizes the reduction in the Soviet military threat in Europe," but he asserted that it "sees few changes in Soviet strategic modernization." "Therefore," he continued, "we must continue our own modernization of strategic offensive forces and "the Strategic Defense Initiative." The administration's stance in these areas is evoking a contradictory reaction in Congress, which believes that changes in the world should be more fully reflected in the structure of U.S. strategic forces as well.

The head of the White House pointed out, at the same time, that the United States believes it is possible this year to move forward significantly in the area of conventional arms reductions in Europe, but also stated that the U.S. military presence on the continent is "essential" and "should not be exclusively linked to the Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe."

The President, stating that the time has come to advance toward "a more acceptable level of military forces in Europe," made public in his speech a new U.S. initiative or, in his words, "a major new step." He announced that the United States is proposing "the reduction of U.S. and USSR troop numbers in Central and East Europe to 195,000 on each side," which, in Bush's words, will meet the requirements of defending U.S. and European interests.

The President again justified U.S. intervention in Panama. In the foreign policy section of the speech, he enumerated the major changes in East Europe and indicated that the United States supports the process of democratization under way in the region.

In the domestic policy section of the speech, Bush stated that "great challenges and great opportunities face the United States" and that the country should undertake "certain fundamental changes," economize on expenses and reduce the federal budget deficit, but without causing public woes. Many economists doubt whether this is possible. However Bush stated that the draft budget for the financial year 1991, which the administration presented to Congress a few days ago, corresponds fully to these objectives. On the whole, Bush did not present any new initiatives by his cabinet in the section of the address on domestic policy.

Quayle's Latin America Trip Previewed

PM2301111790 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[J. Smirnov article: "Difficult Task"]

[Text] The U.S. military invasion of Panama once again showed the whole world that the Americans have no intention of abandoning the use of force wherever they see fit. This position elicited a particularly pointed reaction from Latin American states, many of which see this as an indirect threat to their own sovereignty, too.

Seeking belatedly to rectify the situation and to salvage something of its reputation, the U.S. Administration has resorted to a tried and tested ploy. U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle is setting out Saturday on a tour of Latin American countries with elucidations and explanations—but certainly not with apologies.

He will make his first stop in Honduras, where a routine meeting of the presidents of Central American countries opens 27 January. Pegged to the inauguration of Rafael Callejas as president of Honduras, it is of an informal nature. The heads of state will discuss topics connected with the agreements reached at the previous regional meeting.

The vice president is faced with the difficult task of convincing his interlocutors that the occupation of Panama is not a glaring violation of international norms and the UN and OAS Charters. On the contrary, it has brought a "legitimate ruler" to power—albeit under the barrels of U.S. submachineguns. Another aim is to persuade the states of the region not only to recognize the government of G. Endara, but also to give what aid they can in restoring Panama's ravaged economy.

Perhaps Quayle will have success in respect of countries closely linked with the United States, such as Honduras, El Salvador, Belize, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. By all accounts, however, the chief difficulties await him in his conversation with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, who enjoys tremendous political influence in the region.

Dan Quayle's present tour, which also includes stops in Panama and Jamaica, can in no way be compared in terms of scope with the vice president's two previous trips to that region. The U.S. press reports that a number of states have made it known privately to Washington that they do not want to receive Quayle at present. The White House has prudently had to postpone indefinitely

the vice president's visit to Mexico and Venezuela, which criticized the U.S. on many points.

Zaslavskiy, Vlasikh Discuss Ties Vis-a-Vis Europe

LD2301170190 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—Lev Zaslavskiy, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, today received the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, Jack Matlock, at his request.

During the conversation, held in a frank and business-like atmosphere, they discussed several aspects of Soviet-American relations in the light of the current situation in Europe and the world at large.

They agreed that it is necessary to promote relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the spirit of the agreements reached at the Gorbachev-Bush meeting in Malta.

Oceanic Hearings Note Decline in Military Threat

PM2601113790 Moscow LITERATURA I ISKUSSTVO in Russian 26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent dispatch: "Better Instead of Guns"]

[Text] Changes in the international situation are calling into question the official premises on which U.S. policy on military matters is based. This was the judgment with which S. Nunn, the influential U.S. legislator, introduced the hearings in the Senate Armed Services Committee, which he heads. The hearings were devoted to one of these premises—the question of the "military threat" to the United States.

The leaders of U.S. intelligence services invited to the hearings admitted that the international situation has changed and is continuing to change in the direction of a "reduction in the military threat." CIA Director W. Webster noted that the Soviet Union is keeping to the timetable it announced for the reduction of its Armed Forces by 500,000 men and is withdrawing troop formations from East European countries. W. Webster also noted that the Soviet Union was the first to reduce the number of deployed strategic weapon delivery vehicles.

The director of the Pentagon's intelligence administration made similar assessments. He stated that the threat of nuclear war in Europe and the danger of it developing into a global conflict has now decreased.

In the opinion of Senator Nunn, the hearings show the "substantial decrease in the danger of military confrontation between the superpowers." "All forecasts indicate that the threat will decrease further," he said. Nunn believes that the United States may receive a "peace dividend" in the next fiscal year by lowering military expenditure by $8-10 billion.

A group of senators, including S. Cranston, P. Leahy, and W. Cohen, made a proposal to draw practical conclusions from the improvement of the international situation. S. Cranston, deputy leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, said at a press conference in Congress that the United States must cease further construction of the B-2 bomber—the Pentagon's most expensive program. It is better to save this money, Cranston believes, and use it for peaceful purposes, including housing construction and improving the education system.

Soviet, U.S. Militarists Engage in Debate

PM2601113790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "'Eye by Eye': More Questions Than Answers"]

[Text] An informal dialogue-meeting of Soviet and U.S. generals is taking place in Moscow on the topic "Soviet-U.S. Military-Strategic Balance: Tendencies Toward Change."

"Eye by Eye"—this is the code name for the meeting of 10 Soviet and 10 U.S. generals and admirals organized on the initiative of the International Security Council. Not that all the discussion participants have the rank of general. Donald Rumsfeld, for example, as he himself admitted, reached only the rank of junior lieutenant. On the other hand, he has been a U.S. defense secretary. Nor is Stanislav Golovin, who was invited to the meeting, a general, he is a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions.

Probably the most characteristic feature of the current debate is its pointedness. There is the sincere desire of both sides to obtain answers to acute, painful questions. There is the lack of any attempts whatsoever to conduct this "function" smoothly and calmly or to observe, so to speak, the rules of good form in discourse between attentive hosts and grateful guests. True, it sometimes seemed that the argument was taking place not in the nineties but in the seventies, because arguments smelling of mothballs, as retired Lieutenant General M. Milshteyn put it, were being dredged up. But still, on the whole, a constructive spirit predominated. This, in particular, is the belief of Lieutenant General V. Starodubov, who is chairing the meeting.

There really were more questions than answers. On both sides, probably. What does the Soviet General Staff understand by defense sufficiency? Is there not a contradiction in the fact that Soviet military doctrine, being defensive, presupposes a combination of defensive and offensive actions on the military-technical plane? Why do the Americans still not want, even in the new situation, to abandon the "flexible response" strategy? Why does Washington refuse to understand Moscow's concern at the might of the U.S. Navy, which exceeds overall the might of the Soviet Ground Forces?

I would like to dwell on one of the drifts in the debate. It happened on the Americans' initiative. The essence of

days power in the Confederation has declared that to ensure a committed community. This means one thing—we remain in class conflict. And cooperation in other spheres is inconceivable without overcoming this fundamental divergence. Such is the logic borrowed, let us note bluntly, from the cold war epoch.

Voicing disagreement with this way of formulating the question, Major General N. Chalikovov emphasized that adherence to communist principles today certainly does not mean the preservation of old dogmas and stereotypes.

In the interval I approached D. Rumsfeld and asked: "On what would you place emphasis in your activity if you were once again to head the Pentagon?"

"The task of the U.S. defense secretary," D. Rumsfeld said, "is to ensure the prevention of conflict with the Soviet Union. What would I endeavor to do? Obviously, I would promote the reduction of armed forces and their potential, since it is precisely the potential that poses a military threat."

I think it is also worth citing another statement by D. Rumsfeld, which was heard during the debate. In his opinion, East and West will reach agreement in the talks not because "hordes of negotiators" are participating in them but because the sides will make up their mind to take steps toward each other.

Our parliamentarian S. Golovin also spoke in similar vein. In his opinion, the sides can achieve positive results only when they try to listen to each other and to look together to the future. This applies also to the present informal meeting.

U.S. Reservations on Aid to Romania Noted

PM301101090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Selective Approach"]

[Text] The Bush administration has decided to offer the East European countries economic aid according to their policy, THE NEW YORK TIMES reports.

Now that the euphoria evoked by recent events in Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany has passed, the newspaper notes, officials are beginning to look closely to see where, in their opinion, "genuine changes" are taking place and where "a lot of work is still needed."

In particular, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, Washington is preparing a comprehensive economic aid program for Czechoslovakia, since it believes that all the transformations there "were implemented on the basis of a constitutional process." However, it is showing great restraint when it comes to Bulgaria, East Germany, and particularly Romania, where "many high posts are still held by Communists or those who have only recently ceased to be Communists." "It is hard to some extent to describe this as emergent democracy," the newspaper cites an administration staffer as saying. "We are aware that they got rid of a Stalinist, but we do not know who will replace him."

The article notes that the administration is satisfied with the Romanian National Salvation Front's overall program of liberalization, but is at the same time afraid that the front "will actively seek to return the country to the pre-Ceausescu Communist model that is more liberal and open, but primarily based on a one-party system."

Near East & South Asia

Iran Handed Proposals on Border Procedures

PM0101115790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under "Emergency Situation" rubric and general heading "En Route to Stabilization"]

[Excerpt] Baku, 31 Jan—[Passage omitted] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Foreign Ministry has reported that Iranian representatives were handed proposals from the Soviet side for a bilateral agreement on a simplified procedure for crossing the Soviet-Iranian border for citizens living in border areas. They also envisage easing the procedure for trips to visit relatives and on private business. [passage omitted]

Iranian-Syrian Distribution of Forces Viewed

LD2501104990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Diplomatic circles in Tunis have spread rumors that Syria intends to close the routes through which reinforcements and equipment were being sent for the Islamic Revolutionary Guards and hezbollah from Iran to Lebanon. The first steps have been set in motion; a few days ago 60 fighters were arrested close to the Syrian-Lebanese border, as we have previously reported.

However, what is the cause and what is the effect here? Is the reason for the clashes between the pro-Iranian Hezbollah and the pro-Syrian Amal movement a deterioration in Iranian-Syrian relations? Or, is it the other way around—the battles at Iqlim al-Tuffah came as a result of a sharp decline in relations between Damascus and Tehran? The second explanation is probably more accurate. Syria, which was effectively the only Arab ally of Iran over the 8 years of the Iran-Iraq war, has been moving in a direction that does not produce admiration in Tehran. The reason for that is twofold. First is Syria's intention to respect the clauses of the al-Ta'if accord on Lebanon, which threatens Iranian influence in that country, and the second is the noticeable rapprochement between Damascus and Cairo, which was particularly opposed to by the Iranian ruling circles.

Thus, a new distribution of forces is taking place in the Middle Eastern political arena. The question of whether that is good or bad is futile. In the final analysis, every country has the right to decide to whom it gets close or from whom it distances itself. However, that process in this particular instance is reflected in a third country, namely Lebanon, which gives it a tragic nature. [passage omitted]

Mission Interviews Chairman Abbas Zaki

LD2801103188 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a recording of the interview given by Yasir Arafat, head of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] Executive Committee, to Anatoliy Goldin, our correspondent in North Africa.

The first question was: Brother Abu Ammar, the Palestinian uprising continues to firm march forward in its third year. How do you assess the political results of the saga of the Palestinian people's struggle?

[Begin recording] [Arafat] By this uprising, the Palestinian people have proved that they are committed to ousting the Israeli occupation by using a new and unique method—the method of peaceful struggle by confronting the Israeli-American war machine with their arms, bodies, and flesh. The Palestinian people will continue this uprising until the end of the Israeli occupation and the establishment of our Palestinian state. What is happening affects not only the Palestinian people, but also the whole world.

It was not accidental that in the last meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush in Malta, the Palestinian issue was one of the subjects of discussion, regardless of the amount of time allocated to it compared to the other issues of international strategy discussed between the two great leaders. President Bush confirmed that when he said that, because of the Palestinian uprising, the U.S. Administration considered it its duty to move toward encouraging a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue and the holding of an international conference. It was not accidental that immediately after that summit, Comrade Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership took the important decision to raise the status of the PLO mission to embassy level, and the status of our representative to that of ambassador of the State of Palestine.

The meaning of this goes beyond the raising of status. It means that our Soviet friends and the Soviet Union stand by the just struggle of the Palestinian people, and stand by the Palestinian uprising until the establishment of the Palestinian state whose representative is recognized as an ambassador of that state.

Here I must point out the European stance in Strasbourg and Madrid, the statement of the socialist countries issued in Bucharest, the stance of the Scandinavian foreign ministers of supporting the peace initiative, and the Chinese stance and the Japanese stance, as well as the basic stance adopted by the UN General Assembly in two sessions—in support of the Palestinian peace initiative and about the importance of the international conference on the Middle East and the Palestinian issue. The international conference is to be held under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including the Israeli Government and the PLO as the sole legitimate representative [of the Palestinian people], in order to fulfill the national rights of the Palestinian people and to establish a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

The struggle has attracted great support from all struggling and honest men in the world. It has left its clear effect on all morals of behavior. It is not accidental that the peoples in East Europe, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Romania went on to the streets repeating the word intifadah. This means that this Palestinian uprising and the movements of the masses in East Europe are one for democracy and freedom.

[Goldin] What are the prospects for settling the Palestinian issue in light of the great changes in the world in 1988?

[Arafat] I would like to say that the Palestinian issue has been on the local, Arab, and international political maps. Whatever is on the political map will eventually be on the geographical map. Here I would like to reiterate the Palestinian leadership's gratitude for the firm and principled stance adopted by Comrade Gorbachev, by the Soviet leadership, and by all our friends in support of our just cause and in support of holding the international conference which aims at settling the Middle East issue and establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the region. The international conference will lead to this just peace by ratifying this comprehensive and just settlement.

[Goldin] Brother Abu Ammar, you expressed appreciation of the Soviet leadership's decision to raise the level of Palestinian representation in Moscow to the status of an embassy of the State of Palestine. Could you add something to that?

[Arafat] There can be no doubt that the Palestinian leadership highly appreciates this step. In the name of the Palestinian leadership, the PLO, and the State of Palestine, I have sent a message to Comrade Gorbachev thanking him for this principled, firm, and permanent stance adopted by the Soviet leadership and the peoples of the Soviet Union in support of the Palestinian people's struggle and their just cause. This step will strongly push forward the peace process in the Middle East and will greatly help in reaching a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Again, in the name of our people, in the name of our heroes—the heroes of the uprising—and in the name of the women of our people, I thank Comrade Gorbachev and the friendly Soviet

leadership for its friendly and principled stance. I am sure that this decision will have far-reaching effects on the peace process in the Middle East. It will strongly instigate an urgent move toward holding the international conference as soon as possible. [as received]

Gandhi Aid Majorities More Than Palestinians

[illegible] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Plastun report: "Laws for Palestinians, More for Mujahidin?"]

[Text] Toward the end of last year, the LOS ANGELES TIMES reported a decision by the United States and Saudi Arabia to appropriate $[illegible] million in aid to the Afghan opposition.

Generally speaking, the U.S. Administration's stance on the Afghan question is well known. While verbally declaring its commitment to a political settlement and fulfillment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, Washington is still banking on military victory by the Pushtoon extremists, supplying them with money and weapons even though it is one of the guarantors of the implementation of the accords reached in Geneva.

The Arab state of Saudi Arabia also pays sizable sums of money to the mujahidin. It is said that these sums are much larger than those remitted to the Palestinians, who are victims of Israeli aggression.

In this context PLO Executive Committee Member Khalidah al-Hasan told the Cairo newspaper AL-[illegible] that the opportunists [illegible] armored equipment worth $850 million in the battles near Jalalabad, in which mercenaries from some Arab countries also fought. He added that Pakistan's late President Ziaul Haq expropriated about $1 billion from aid received for the Afghan opposition leaders. Each Arab mercenary fighting on the side of the "diehards" receives at least $1,500 a month. Where does all this money come from?—the Palestinian figure said indignantly. After all, those involved in the Intifadah do not receive even a fraction of what some Arab regimes earmark to support the Peshawar extremists. Palestinian women, N. al-Hasan said, asked Yasir Arafat to "change Jerusalem's name to Jalalabad so that the Arabs might help them with even one-tenth of what they give to Afghanistan."

The world community and the United Nations are trying to find a way out of the Near East, Afghan, and other regional conflicts. Complicity with the opponents of peaceful settlement, whatever form it takes, in no way promotes this quest.

Israeli Plans To Resettle Immigrants Viewed

[LD301136Sh] Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balkhanov:

There is concern throughout the world and particularly in Arab countries over Israeli plans announced by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to settle immigrants, including those from the USSR, in occupied Arab territories.

The fulfilment of these plans may frustrate everything that has been achieved in the quest for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, plus, the implementation of these plans would indefinitely put off a political solution to the Middle East problem and would jeopardize the security of all people in the region, including in Israel.

This plan by Tel Aviv is clearly aimed at creating an artificial pretext for Israel's annexation of occupied Arab territories.

Tel Aviv is apparently striving to prevent the convocation of an international Middle East conference under United Nations auspices and to prevent the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

It is also obvious that Israel is trying to discredit the constructive stand of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and of Arab countries, which gave rise to hopes that the long-drawn-out conflict would soon be settled and the long-awaited peace established.

Even Washington officials hastened to distance themselves from Shamir's plans and to express disapproval.

Spokesman for the U.S. Department of State Richard Boucher said that the construction of settlements and the sending of new settlers into the occupied territories is an obstacle to peace. He said the United States Administration will not provide any funds for the settlement of immigrants on occupied territories.

This is succinctly put. Still it is appropriate to ask the United States why it did not object to the free settlement that Israelis built on the occupied lands.

If the United States, Israel's chief strategic ally in the Middle East, had opposed that action Shamir would not have dared to make his current plans.

Washington's all-out support of Israel has helped aggravate the situation in the Middle East.

Shamir's plans to settle immigrants on occupied territories runs counter to the principles of international law registered by the United Nations—the principles which all countries, Israel included, should respect. The settlement of immigrants on lands forcibly taken from Arabs is not permitted by international law.

The Soviet Union, acting in accordance with international standards, as regards the right to travel, cannot remain indifferent to the fact that a number of Soviet Jews, emigrating to Israel, might become a tool in the implementation of Israel's unlawful plans, which are condemned all over the world.

Yazovtsev Receives Arab Diplomats

LD2901203090 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—First Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaly Yazovtsev met today the heads of diplomatic missions of Arab states and a representative of the Arab League in Moscow to brief them on the Soviet Union's attitude towards the statements by a number of Israeli politicians concerning the retaining of Arab lands for the settlement by immigrants including from the Soviet Union.

It was noted that these actions by the Israeli Government meant a serious blow to the peace process in the Middle East. They undermine the process of settlement and pose a threat to the security of all nations in the region, including Israel itself.

At the same time explanations were given about the uniform rules for all Soviet citizens' exit and entry, laid down in Soviet legislation on the basis of respective provisions in international legal documents on human rights, of which the Soviet Union is a co-signatory.

Representatives of Arab states and the Arab League expressed understanding of the Soviet Union's stance with regard to the plans of the Israeli leadership.

They stressed their countries' serious concern over the inevitable negative consequences the implementation of these plans would incur. The importance was stressed of maintaining contacts with all interested countries, including with the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, in order to coordinate efforts aimed at preventing the worsening of the situation and at achieving fair peace in the Middle East.

Vitaly Yazovtsev also explained to Arab diplomats the situation in Transcaucasia and cited examples to expose the slanderous and provocative nature of Western allegations of the religious background to the unrest and briefed the diplomats on the measures that are being taken to expedite the normalization of the situation.

Soviet Expert Cited on Kashmir Stand

BK3101125090 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Union has reiterated that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and accession of the state to the Indian union in 1947 is final and irrevocable. Stating this at a news conference in Kathmandu this afternoon, the Soviet expert on Asia, Mr (Plafimenkin), said there cannot be any question of plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

Our Kathmandu correspondent reports that replying to a question, the Soviet expert pointed out that Moscow wishes to continue the treaty of peace and friendship with New Delhi even beyond 1991.

Reportage on 40th Anniversary of Indian Republic

Jubilee Meeting Held

PM3001103990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Hearts Open to Friendship"]

[Text] Soviet-Indian relations have a unique character and enormous value. The revival of the humanist look of socialism in our country is enriching them with new facets. This was stressed at the ceremonial meeting of representatives of the Moscow public on 24 January to mark to the 40th anniversary of the Republic of India.

We have something to congratulate our Indian friends on today. Independent democratic India has made great achievements in economic and social development. This country has considerable authority in the international arena, where it pursues an active peace-loving foreign policy. It was in Soviet-Indian relations that many of the things that represent the distinctive features of the new political thinking first appeared. These ideas were voiced in the speeches of Yu.K. Semenov, USSR minister; A.S. Gonsalves, Indian ambassador to the USSR; and K. Ayer and K. Kumar [names as transliterated], leaders of the delegation from the Indian public. The speakers mentioned that cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, aimed at constructing a new world order, is serving as an important factor in improving the international climate. Both countries are actively working on creating preconditions for unity for all mankind.

Convincing examples were given showing that the years of India's independence have been a time when Soviet-Indian ties on many levels have been established .

Taking part in the meeting were Yu. D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; and leaders of a number of ministries, departments, and social organizations.

Leadership Greetings

PM3001145090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers greetings message to Indian leaders on independence anniversary]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Ramaswamy Venkataraman, president of the Republic of India

His Excellency Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, prime minister of the Republic of India

We convey to you, and through you to the Indian people, cordial congratulations on the occasion of a glorious date—the 40th anniversary of India's proclamation as a sovereign republic.

Over the past years, independent and democratic India has achieved major accomplishments in the cause of social and economic development. India enjoys high prestige in the international arena, where it invariably advocates the peaceful solution of existing problems, disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament, and equality and fairness in political and economic contacts.

The Soviet Union and India have long-established relations of friendship and cooperation, which are a valuable asset of our two states and peoples. Soviet-Indian collaboration, aimed at building a new world order in which there would be no room for mass destruction weapons, wars, and violence, serves as an important factor for improving the condition of the international climate as a whole. Over the past few years, Soviet-Indian bilateral cooperation has acquired a new quality in trade, the economy, science, technology, and other spheres.

We are confident that the time-tested and multifaceted relations between the Soviet Union and India will continue to expand and strengthen to mutual advantage, to the benefit of universal peace, security, and development.

We wish good health and successes to you, esteemed Mr President and Mr Prime Minister, and happiness and prosperity to the great Indian people.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

Gujral Interview

PM3101151790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in Delhi with Indian Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral, by own correspondent N. Paklin; date not specified: "India's New Guidelines"]

[Text] A new government came to power in India 2 months before the 40th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of India, which is celebrated 26 January. It was created from representatives of parties belonging to the National Front, which defeated the Indian National Congress-Indira party in the 1989 parliamentary elections.

What new elements does this government intend to introduce into Indian foreign policy? That was the first question which IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Delhi put to I.K. Gujral in his interview.

[Gujral] Our foreign policy is deeply rooted in the traditional values and philosophy of India and stems from the experience of our independence struggle. The national consensus then achieved on all basic issues has undergone further development in the foreign policy of independent India. Its main thrusts since the time of Jawaharlal Nehru have been nonalignment, the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and support for the cause of general peace and disarmament. Our government will continue that course.

However, enormous changes have taken place in the world in the last few years and it is perfectly natural for every country, including India, to bring its foreign policy into line with the new realities. Our government intends first and foremost to approach the strengthening of relations with our neighbors from new standpoints. We also envisage carrying out a number of structural changes which should enable us to make our foreign policy all-embracing by combining diplomacy with policy in the sphere of economics, culture, and defense. We will pay greater attention to planning foreign policy activity and involving scientists in its elaboration. A National Security Council will be set up. These are a few of our new ideas.

[Paklin] You have received an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. When are you going to make the visit, and what do you expect from it?

[Gujral] The relations of friendship between India and the Soviet Union have a long history. The frequent and regular political contacts, which are now traditional, form an essential and important element of our multidimensional relations. I look forward with interest to my upcoming meeting with USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and other Soviet leaders. The visit to the Soviet Union will also enable me to renew old acquaintanceships and strike up new ones. I was Indian ambassador to the USSR 10 years ago and still remember well my stay in your country. Friendly feelings were expressed to me not only by Soviet leaders and the government but by ordinary people, too.

Much has changed in the Soviet Union in the last decade. Your country is now pursuing a new domestic and and foreign policy. The situation in the world has also changed. I think that an exchange of opinions will be extremely useful in these conditions. Now, when everything in the world is so volatile, the stability of Indian-Soviet relations acquires special value.

Much should be discussed in the sphere of bilateral relations. We rate highly our commercial and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is both considerable and diverse. But we should make more active use of the available opportunities to ensure that the enormous potential which we have in the spheres of the economy, science, and technology is fully exploited. We intend to discuss all these issues at the upcoming session of the Indian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which will shortly be held in Moscow.

[Paklin] As you have already said, the strengthening of relations with neighboring countries is one of India's foreign policy priorities. What does this actually involve?

[Gujral] Our government sees improving the people's quality of life as its paramount task. It follows from this

that the creation of favorable foreign conditions is a foreign policy priority of ours. This primarily means good, stable, conflict-free relations with our neighbors. We think that the countries of our region should cooperate more strenuously in tackling problems which we have in common such as backwardness and poverty.

[Paklin] Could you touch, in particular, on India's relations with China and Pakistan? They, as is well known, are difficult....

[Gujral] We intend to continue the process of accommodation, collaboration, and cooperation which recently began in relations between India and China and we hope for a positive response from China. Collaboration between the two countries could considerably help the cause of peace, stability, and equal cooperation in Asia and throughout the world.

We would like to improve our relations with Pakistan on the basis of the 1972 Simla Agreement. The easing of travel from one country to the other and the development of commercial and cultural exchanges would be specific moves in that direction. We are also ready to discuss other measures to normalize Indian-Pakistani relations. There are, of course, a number of contentious issues between us, including the support which Pakistan gives to terrorism.

[Paklin] The situation in and around Afghanistan remains difficult. Is the Indian Government intending to make new initiatives in this regard?

[Gujral] India actively supports the efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Afghan problem and maintains contacts with all interested parties. A solution of the Afghan problem can be achieved only by the Afghans themselves without outside interference, and in the light of the existing realities and the legitimate interests of all sides. We want the earliest possible end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan and the maintenance of its status as a sovereign, nonaligned, and independent state.

[Paklin] What is the Indian Government's approach to problems of security in Asia? Why does your country, in particular, oppose the creation of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia? India has not signed the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, either. What is involved here?

[Gujral] The Indian Government's approach to security problems in Asia is above all a continuation of our policy regarding neighboring countries. We seek to strengthen friendship and build relations with them in the light of mutual interests.

The problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons must not be seen in isolation. It is a global problem. Our opposition to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia is based on this position of principle. Our opposition to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is equally principled. India has always actively campaigned for nuclear disarmament and general peace. India and the Soviet Union are the co-authors of the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World. There can be no doubt about India's commitment to the cause of nuclear disarmament. But the nonproliferation treaty establishes a regime that discriminates against nonnuclear states.

[Paklin] What is your opinion of the changes taking place in the world?

[Gujral] Last year was notable in many respects. Radical, far-reaching changes toward democratization, political pluralism, and the development of representative systems and institutions in accord with people's aspirations took place in the countries of East Europe. There is no doubt that these changes are of worldwide significance. The nature of the military blocs and the relations between the countries belonging to those blocs have radically changed. The end of the cold war is nigh.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Kabul

Meeting With Najibullah

LD2701180890 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 27 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah today received a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Aleksandr Makarov, deputy chairman of the Parliament Chamber of the Union and member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Afghan leader said that history itself destined the Soviet Union and Afghanistan to live in peace and friendship. There is hardly a single province in the country which does not have a Soviet-built enterprise. The first anniversary of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, also known as the beginning of independent defence of Afghanistan, will soon be celebrated. Afghanistan has managed to defend the country's main centers against the encroachments of the armed opposition, to ensure security at main strategic roads and to break the economic blockade.

The president pointed to a string of successes in the implementation of national reconciliation policy. The population and field commanders in many regions welcomed the government's aid in prime necessities and food.

Najibullah noted the growth of Afghanistan's international prestige and, on the other hand, the decline in influence of the opposition which could not put forward a constructive social, economic and political programme. He highly assessed the resumption of the work of the parliament in Afghanistan after a 15- year break.

"We received with profound satisfaction statements by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on the principled position of your country in support of Afghanistan," the president stressed. "On our part we

We'll exert every effort so that our border with the Soviet Union remains a border of good neighbourliness and friendship."

Details on Talks

LD2901155490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Joint Report on the Visit to Afghanistan by the USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul 28 Jan (TASS)—A delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by A.A. Mokaanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, has been in Afghanistan from 22 to 28 January at the invitation of the president and the National Assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The delegation also included USSR People's Deputies S.B. Beknazarov, V.P. Zolotukhin, A.I. Melnikov, R.K. Odzhiyev, V.N. Ochirov, V.V. Finogenov, P.V. Shetko, N.N. Engver, and V.V. Yakunbkin.

The delegation was received by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, who appraised the Soviet parliamentarians of the progress made in implementing the policy of national reconciliation of Afghan settlement, taking account of the way all its aspects—foreign and domestic—are linked together. He voiced the sincere gratitude felt by the country's leadership and the Afghan people for the Soviet Union's selfless aid to Afghanistan at a crucial stage in the latter's history. Particular mention was made at the meeting—a feature of which was its cordiality and frankness—of the need for a further strengthening and deepening of the comprehensive and mutually beneficial ties between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan in accordance with the existing traditions and the opportunities afforded by geographical proximity.

The members of the delegation met Kh.A. Abawi, chairman of the Council of Representatives; M. Habibi, chairman of the Senate; other members of the leadership of the National Assembly and its commissions; deputies from the Senate and the Council of Representatives; A.R. Hatef, vice president of the Republic of Afghanistan and chairman of the National Front Central Council; S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers Executive Committee; the leaders of a number of ministries and official departments; activists from the National Front and other sociopolitical organizations; deputies from local Jergas (soviets) and representatives of various strata of the population. They also went on a trip to Balkh Province. The Soviet parliamentarians saw for themselves the life of the Afghan people, who are so courageously battling for freedom, independence, and the territorial integrity of their country.

The meetings at the Republic of Afghanistan's National Assembly, which passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere, emphasized the important role of the supreme legislative bodies of both countries in establishing the new political thinking, the primacy of panhuman values and genuine equality for every single member of the international community in interstate relations, and also the need for parliaments to play an active part in strengthening the general peace and security of peoples.

The USSR People's Deputies spoke of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and of the fundamental political and socioeconomic transformations which are designed to bring a greater dynamism and more democracy to socialism.

The Soviet and Afghan parliamentarians exchanged information on the main thrusts of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan. Issues relating to the mutlifaceted Soviet-Afghan relations were discussed thoroughly, as were the prospects for their further development. Great attention was paid to the outcome of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which reaffirmed the policy of continuing the political and moral support for the friendly Afghan people, and of developing cooperation with Afghanistan in line with bilateral agreements and treaties.

The participants in the talks emphasized the need for the strict and complete fulfilment of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan by all the sides which signed them and urged the establishment of peace in the country as soon as possible on the basis of nationwide concord. The important role was noted on the United Nations and J. Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary general personally who, in accordance with UN General Assembly resolutions adopted by consensus, has been invested with powers to promote achievement of an all-compassing political settlement in Afghanistan. They confirmed the intention of both countries to use every opportunity to assist a political solution of the Afghan problem in the interests of a peaceful future for the Afghan people. In this connection, the parliamentarians call for a halt to the bombardments of Afghan towns that inflict suffering first and foremost on peaceful inhabitants, and for a response to the striving of the Afghan people and other peoples of the region for peace, mutual understanding, and concord.

The parliamentarians of the two countries backed the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet and Afghan leaderships for settling the Afghan problem, as well as the proposal recently put forward by the president of the Republic of Afghanistan regarding the convening in Kabul of a "Shura" involving representatives of all political forces of Afghan society, situated both within the country and abroad, for the purpose of seeking ways to achieve an intra-Afghan settlement.

The members of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan stated that they regard with deep understanding and sympathy the concern of the Soviet public over the problem of the Soviet servicemen being held

prisoner by the Afghan opposition, and expressed a readiness to continue to give every assistance in the search for them and their return home.

The Soviet and Afghan parliamentarians noted with satisfaction that throughout the world, trends toward an improvement in the political climate, which are in accord with the fundamental interests of all countries and peoples, are gathering force. They unanimously advocated a deepening of this positive process by reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals and by lowering stocks of conventional armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency in the interests of strengthening international peace and security, mutual trust and cooperation among states.

The sides agree that the tasks of eliminating the backwardness of developing countries and of arranging equal partnership with them are acquiring importance for the whole of mankind.

The members of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan expressed support for the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, democratizing social life and humanizing international relations.

The representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan agreed to continue active cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries in all spheres of mutual interest for the good of the friendly Soviet and Afghan peop. nd the firm establishment in the region of an atmosphere of peace and goodneighborliness.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation expressed its gratitude fo. the cordial and warm welcome and hospitality and wished the Afghan people further consolidation of the national-patriotic forces advocating an independent, nonaligned and economically advanced Afghanistan and also peace, prosperity and well-being.

The National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan was given an invitation from the USSR Supreme Soviet to send a delegation to the Soviet Union on an official visit. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

'Exclusively Warm, Friendly Nature'

LD2901191290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Report by A. Shkirando; from "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The visit to Kabul by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation ended today.

[Shkirando] All the meetings were of an exclusively warm and friendly nature. That, for example, is the welcome that was given to members of the delegation at one of Afghanistan's largest enterprises, Jangalak. [video shows an enterprise] Here, directly in the workshops, the results of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies were discussed with interest. The workers sincerely thanked the Soviet parliamentarians for the line worked out at the Congress for continuing political and moral support for the friendly Afghan people and developing cooperation with Afghanistan in accordance with the bilateral agreement and treaties.

The Soviet delegation was received by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. [video shows Najibullah shaking hands with delegation; sides seated at a table engaged in talks] Among the numerous questions discussed during the course of the visit was also the question of releasing Soviet military prisoners of war.

[Begin recording, Supreme Soviet member V.N. Ochirov, identified by screen caption] To date, 30 people have been returned to the homeland from third countries. This includes former servicemen who became prisoners or who voluntary went over to the enemy's side. The opposition is now using them like small change, playing on people and the feelings of mothers, widows, and fathers. A commission on internationalist servicemen has already been set up and attached to the Supreme Soviet. It will involve itself in detail with this question. [end recording]

[Shkirando] A joint report was signed on the visit of the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Republic of Afghanistan. [video shows signing ceremony]

29 Jan Departure

LD2901152890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0901 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul, 29 Jan (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been on an official visit to Afghanistan, left for home today.

The delegation was seen off at Kabul International Airport by the chairman of the "Wolasi Jerga"—the lower house of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA]—S.M. Zerai; the deputy chairman of the Senate of the Afghan parliament, S.A.A. Shahrestani; and other officials. In the seeing-off party was B.N. Pastukhov, ambassador of the USSR to the R.A.

East Europe

Further Reportage on GDR's Modrow Visit

Second Meeting With Gorbachev

LD3101141590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Report on remarks by Hans Modrow, chairman of GDR Council of Ministers, made to Aleksandr Zholkver, Gosteleradio political observer, in Moscow on 31 January]

[Text] I have had a second meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Comrade Ryzhkov, says

Hans Modrow. The first was at the end of last year. At that time, however, we did not have such an in-depth exchange of views as on this occasion. We have now been able to discuss issues of principle in the deepening of our cooperation in all areas, in the political sphere and in the further development of economic cooperation. The matter of guaranteeing peace and security in Europe played a particular role in the discussion.

There was also an exchange of views on the issue of mutual relations between the two German states. We proceeded from the fact that these questions must be debated in a new way in the course of the all-European process. Cooperation on a contractual basis between the two German states should, in my opinion, be the start of good-neighborly relations. I think at present, Hans Modrow continues, that this process could acquire the features of a confederation. In other words, many joint commissions could be set up, starting with the commission on economic issues that already exists. This would develop the preconditions for economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG fairly extensively, even within this year, and would affect the development of market relations in the GDR. We are proceeding from the fact that other forms of cooperation could also be found. In particular, I think that once we have held elections it will be possible to establish contacts between the parliaments and to create an appropriate joint commission. In the more distant future, unification of the two German states could take place in the course of the all-European process.

We are making a sober and realistic assessment of the situation in the country and can see a good many elements of instability, Hans Modrow goes on to say. We are asked questions: Who has given you authority? In whose name do you speak? Who elected and confirmed you? Some people say that even the GDR parliament has no legitimate rights today. Others comment that the numerous groups that have recently appeared have emerged spontaneously. We therefore believe that in the interests of the country's stability, elections to the People's Chamber should not be put off until 6 May. Because the local bodies of authority lack stability as well, we proposed to hold elections to them on 6 May, while elections for the People's Chamber will be set at an earlier date.

A few days ago, Willi Brandt spoke at a large meeting in Gotha, organized by the Social Democratic Party. I have seen reports that FRG Chancellor Kohl would like to hold a pre-election meeting in the GDR. Not only would this be an attempt to transfer the West German pre-election campaign onto the territory of the GDR, but it would also be gross interference in its domestic affairs.

Anti-fascist ideas have put down deep roots among our people, says the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. We cannot, mind you, fail to notice something else as well. The leader of the FRG Republican Party, Schoenhuber, says that between 15 and 30 percent of his supporters are in the GDR. This is, of course, an exaggeration. Such an alarming signal cannot, however, be ignored.

Talking about prospects for cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, Hans Modrow noted that the intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation held a routine session in Berlin last week. A plan has in theory been agreed upon for the turnover of merchandise between our countries for 1990. There are, of course, problems on both sides here, which we discussed with the leadership of your country. We do want, however, to ensure the stability of supplies in both directions, not only this year but also in the next 5-year plan. The priorities of our economic, scientific, and technical cooperation remain micro-electronics, shipbuilding, agricultural machine building, and other traditional sectors, said Hans Modrow in conclusion.

Modrow TV Interview

LD3101204190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Topical Interview" with Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver "on the conclusion of his visit" to Moscow—recorded in German with superimposed Russian translation; video shows Modrow and Zholkver seated in armchairs in the wood-panelled corner of a room]

[Text] [Zholkver] Comrade Modrow, you have often visited Moscow. In your time you even studied here, but now you have come as the head of the government. What questions did the talks concentrate upon this time?

[Modrow] This was my second meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and with Comrade Ryzhkov. The first was at the end of November last year. At that time, however, there was not such an in-depth exchange of opinions as on this occasion. This time we were able to discuss fundamental issues concerning the deepening of our cooperation in all spheres—both in the political sphere and in the further development of economic cooperation. The discussion of issues concerning the guaranteeing of peace and security in Europe played a special role, of course.

There was also an exchange of views on the issue of mutual relations between the two German states. We proceeded from the fact that these questions must be debated in a new way in the all-European process.

[Zholkver] You formulated a thesis about contractual cooperation between the two German states. What do you mean by this?

[Modrow] Such contractual cooperation should, in my opinion, be the start of neighborly contractual relations between the GDR and the FRG and of close cooperation between them. I think at present that this process could assume aspects of a confederation. In other words, many

joint commissions could be set up, starting with the commission on economic issues that already exists. This creates the preconditions for it being possible for economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG to develop fairly extensively even this year. This would have an effect on the development of market relations in our country.

We are proceeding from the fact that other forms of cooperation could also be found. I think, in particular, that once we have held elections it will be possible to establish contacts between the parliaments and to create an appropriate joint commission. In the more distant future, unification of the two German states could take place in the all-European process.

[Zholkver] You mentioned the forthcoming elections in the GDR. There have been reports that the elections will be held earlier than anticipated.

[Modrow] This was proposed not only by me but also by other parties, including the Social Democratic Party which was recently formed in the GDR. We are making a sober and realistic assessment of the situation in the country and can see many elements of instability. We are asked: Who has given you authority? In whose name do you speak? Who elected and confirmed you? Some people say that the current GDR parliament has no legitimate rights. Others comment that the numerous groups that have recently appeared have emerged spontaneously. We therefore believe that in the interests of stability in the country, elections to the People's Chamber should not be postponed until 6 May. Since, at the same time, the local authority bodies also lack stability, we propose that elections to them be held on 6 May and that the elections to the People's Chamber be set for an earlier date.

[Zholkver] However, one forms the impression from numerous reports that even now, in the first stage of the pre-election campaign, there is massive interference in the GDR's internal affairs from the FRG.

[Modrow] Yes, indeed, that cannot be ignored. A few days ago Willy Brandt spoke at a large rally in Gotha organized by the Social Democratic Party. I have also seen reports that FRG Chancellor Kohl wants to hold a pre-election meeting in the GDR. Not only would these be attempts to transfer the West German pre-election campaign on to the territory of the GDR, they would also be gross interference in our internal affairs.

[Zholkver] Comrade Modrow, I will not conceal from you the fact that many letters from our viewers express anxiety at the increased activity of nationalist and even neo-fascist forces in the GDR. How do you view that problem?

[Modrow] That development of events is indeed taking place, and we must make our apologies to Soviet people for the excesses which were committed at the monument to Soviet servicemen in Treptow Park in Berlin. The people of Berlin not only condemned that but also held a mighty demonstration in memory of the victims of fascism, a demonstration of solidarity with the antifascist struggle. Antifascist ideas are deeply rooted among our people. Mind you, at the same time, we cannot fail to notice something else as well. Schoenhuber, leader of the Republican Party in the FRG, declares that he has 15-30 percent support in the GDR. That, of course, is an exaggeration. However, such an alarming signal cannot be ignored.

[Zholkver] At your press conference in Moscow you spoke about the GDR's traditional friendly ties with the Soviet Union. How do you see the further development of these ties in the economic sphere which is so important for both our states?

[Modrow] The intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation held a routine session in Berlin last week. The plan for goods turnover between our countries for 1990 was agreed in principle. There are, of course, quite a few problems on both sides here, which we discussed with the leadership of your country. However, we want to ensure the stability of supplies in both directions not only this year but also in the next 5-year period. The priorities of our economic and scientific and technical cooperation remain micro-electronics, shipbuilding, agricultural machine-building, and other traditional sectors of our exchange of goods and interaction.

[Zholkver] Finally, one more question: Can we also count on further expansion of personal contacts between the people of our countries?

[Modrow] I believe that this process will continue to develop. Tourism and visits by our citizens in both directions will be even more important in the future. Each one of us has many friends in both countries; I do too because, as you have already mentioned, I studied in Moscow. I also remember that you were once a correspondent in Berlin. Good friends always meet again, and I am very glad about that.

[Zholkver] Thank you for this interview, and all the best to you.

Meeting With Journalists

PM3101145590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Frankness"]

[Text] Our talks with M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov took place in an atmosphere of an extremely intensive and frank exchange of opinions, in the course of which full coincidence of viewpoints was revealed on all questions under discussion. H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, said this 30 January at a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists.

We are guided in our actions, the guest said, by the fact that our alliance with the USSR is of primary importance for the GDR.

The renewal processes in both countries, H. Modrow said, are creating favorable preconditions for progress, while at the same time making supreme demands on the format of bilateral relations. In the course of the talks it was unanimously stressed that in the future our cooperation will also be based on equality, noninterference in internal affairs, independence, and mutual advantage. M.S. Gorbachev confirmed the close solidarity between the USSR and the GDR, pointing out that the people of the GDR have a close friend and a true ally in the Soviet Union. We in turn assured the Soviet leadership of the GDR people's full support for the transformations in the USSR which have make it possible for restructuring to take place in our country. Without these transformations the processes of renewal and democratization would have been unthinkable in the GDR.

Speaking about the problem of "German reunification," the guest pointed out that it can only be resolved within the framework of the all-European process. He pointed to the need for phased movement in this direction, stressing that hasty, ill-conceived steps must not be taken here. Categorically ruling out the possibility of restoring a "united Germany within the 1937 borders," H. Modrow spoke of the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse borders.

On the same day, the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers left the Soviet Union.

Commentary on Visit

LD3101145390 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The results of the visit to Moscow by the prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, Hans Modrow, will be discussed by analyst Viktor Glazunov:

The visit has attracted natural interest in this country because we can't be indifferent to what's happening to our ally. Besides, we are facing similar problems. Though the situation in the GDR is extremely complex and controversial, it basically reflects the same process of getting rid of a command administrative system. So we have a lot of experience to share.

The two countries discussed their bilateral cooperation and deeper interaction in international affairs. They urged an active continuation of the European process, on the basis of respect for the existing political and territorial realities. In that light the central issue of European security has always been the German question, the relations between the two German states. What are the prospects for their development? Shall it be cooperation and interaction between separate states or can they proceed towards an early reunification?

This is a far wider than purely internal German issues. The four powers of the anti-Hitler coalition have certain commitments and responsibilities for German affairs. Each German state has its own commitments, the GDR to the Warsaw Treaty and the FRG to NATO. Then there's the European process, equally involving both German states. All that has to be considered in discussing the question of German unity. Imagine the emergence of a unified Germany in the context of the present European split and military confrontation. That would inevitably tip the balance on the continent with unpredictable consequences, that is the inter-German process can't be divorced from the all-European process, the reunification of Germany from security and cooperation on the whole continent.

Undue speeding in the German process may jeopardize the European process and benefit no one. As far as I can judge this understanding prevails both in Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic. And nothing but alarm can be caused by attempts to solve the German question by emotional rallies in the streets. The issue requires particular balance and responsibility. They right of the German people to unity is indisputable, but it's equally clear that it can be realized only with full consideration for security of all European nations by gradual overcoming [as heard] the split and confrontation in Europe.

At the moment it's worthwhile looking at the conception proposed by Hans Modrow of a treaty association between the two independent German states, keeping their respective allied commitments. A realization of this conception would no doubt promote inter-German cooperation while meeting at the same time the interests of European stability. The Soviet Union has taken that conception with understanding.

Modrow Receives FRG Minister in Berlin

PM2901150790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "GDR Government in Ferment"]

[Text] Berlin—Hans Modrow, head of the GDR Government, has received Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister and head of the Federal Chancellor's Department. People here are linking Seiters' arrival in Berlin with the solution of specific questions of further rapprochement between the two German states. This time they discussed Modrow's forthcoming visit to Bonn and his meeting with Chancellor Kohl. It has been announced that the visit will take place 13-14 February.

The talks were followed by a meeting with journalists. R. Seiters said that the Bonn government is highly interested in the stabilization of the democratic process now taking place in the GDR. It is ready for closer economic cooperation with the GDR and expects that the DM6 billion in credit already allocated to it will be put to work right away. As the minister said, both governments face a common, urgent task: to do everything possible to encourage GDR citizens not to leave the republic. In the first month of this year, so far 42,500 people have migrated West from the GDR. No one, R. Seiters said, has an interest in bleeding the GDR white, which would complicate the solution of its internal problems.

H. Modrow cited the two most important recent events which, in his opinion, will help strengthen economic stability in the GDR: the sessions of the inter-German economic commission and the GDR-USSR intergovernmental commission. Modrow said that West German Economics Minister Haussmann, who visited Berlin recently, was satisfied with the conditions created for foreign capital in the GDR.

"In the interest of the two German states as well as their neighbours," H. Modrow said, "it is necessary to approach the solution of questions relating to GDR-FRG relations with caution and the utmost responsibility. They must not be removed from the general European context."

Answering journalists' questions on a contractual community, Seiters said: It cannot be created until after 6 May, that is, after the first free elections have been held in the GDR and the formation of a parliament on their basis. However, it is important right now to do the groundwork and clear the way for that community."

H. Modrow was asked about his continued membership of the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. He rejected reports that he had left the party and repeated his comment at last Monday's roundtable meeting. His government activity is not linked to any party and his responsibility is to the GDR people alone. This, however, does not cancel his party membership.

Meanwhile, the government continues to be in ferment. An extraordinary session of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Presidium decided to recall three CDU ministers from the government. The aim is to "open the way for talks with the new parties and movements on their participation in the government." The three CDU ministers will remain in office until 9 February. The presidium's statement says that the Christian Democrats expect other coalition parties to follow their example. The CDU "agrees that Premier Modrow should create a new coalition from representatives of the parties and movements participating in the roundtable and Modrow himself should relinquish his membership of the SED-PDS and the performance of his party functions."

The coalition government, which seems to be working to the limit of its capacity, is going through dramatic times. The leaders of the new parties and movements will return to the conference table today, Friday, and will discuss Modrow's proposal that they take a proportion of the ministerial posts now belonging to the SED-PDS. The discussion on this question promises to be tense.

GDR Minister Rejects 'Putsch' Claim

PM290109790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "TASS, BZU/TEB, UPI Report": "False Rumor Refuted"]

[Text] The report by the West German newspaper BILD that former servicemen of "elite State Security and GDR National People's Army units" are preparing a putsch with a view to seizing power does not contain a single word of truth. This was stated by Admiral T. Hoffmann, GDR minister of national defense.

The GDR Army, Adm. T. Hoffmann emphasized, perceives its paramount task as being to exert every effort to ensure the peaceful implementation of the democratic evolution in the GDR.

TASS Reports GDR Coalition Progress

LD2901103090 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov:

As a result of seven-hour talks, a compromise was reached last night between Hans Modrow, prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, and representatives of political parties and opposition groups participating in roundtable meetings.

The coalition hammered out a four-point programme.

Martin Ziegler, a Lutheran Church official and a moderator at the roundtable meetings, said that the elections to the GDR People's Chamber would be held on March 18, 1990 and not in May, as it had been planned.

This is the first item of the programme. Secondly, the roundtable decided that each party or group participating in the roundtable, which is still not in the cabinet, would send its representative to the national responsibility government (the name of the new cabinet) to work as minister without portfolio.

The third item envisages that the government will appoint one of its ministers a plenipotentiary at the roundtable. Lastly, the talks decided that local government elections would be held on May 6.

Speaking to journalists on the results of the talks, Modrow described them as a stage of common responsibility which will strengthen democracy in the GDR. This is the aim of the compromise, he added.

Roundtable co-moderator Karl-Heinz Duke, a Catholic Church official, noted that the new government is a sign of strengthening stability in the country. The names of the new ministers will be made public later this month.

Modrow will head the government, which is a condition for its formation. Roundtable participants did not demand that the prime minister suspend his party membership, as was expected.

[illegible]
[illegible]

Polish Ambassador Reviews PZPR Congress

AU [illegible] Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jun 80 p 3

[Report on interview with Stanislaw Cioch, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Republic of Poland in USSR, by V.A. Vasilkov in Moscow, date not given: "Reality Dictates Policy"]

[Text] For about a month now, Stanislaw Cioch has been the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland in the USSR. It is exactly in this capacity that he met with those who came several days ago to the Polish Center of Information and Culture in Moscow. However, responding to most questions, S. Cioch stressed: "I would like to answer not as an ambassador but as a private person."

We will also structure our conversation ignoring for the time being the official function of our interlocutor. In this manner, a broader scope of topics can be touched upon, and answers may be more unfettered, all the more so because, in referring to S. Cioch, we cannot fail to recall his work as a government minister responsible for liaison with the trade unions in the early eighties and as a PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] secretary until very recently. Perhaps, I will not exaggerate if I include the political figure of S. Cioch among the [top] five of those who have led the processes of renewal in the party and society of Poland in the last decade.

We had met in Poland many times before. This time, we met in Moscow on the eve of a truly historic event—the 11th PZPR Congress which, as has been announced, will become the last one in the history of this party.

[Vasilkov] You were one of the architects of the "roundtable" held early last year which initiated an abrupt turnaround in the public life of the then People's Republic of Poland. As a result of political processes which began with the "roundtable" the opposition came to power in the country driving the PZPR away from the "helm." Currently, almost a year later, are you sure that the step taken in April 1989 was correct?

[Cioch] Even more than I was then. If you would recall, at our meeting in Warsaw, immediately after the "roundtable" talks, I put it to us to say that at issue was "a question of food supply". Who will eat up whom? Luckily, reason prevailed, the emotions cooled down, and at present we have a coalition rather than a one-party leadership. To be sure, the PZPR had to yield some of the seat of power, but this occurred peacefully, without excesses. Meanwhile, an explosion was about to happen!

What was the line of our reasoning when we resolved to initiate negotiations with the opposition? Whatever they say, the socialist path of development allowed Poland to get out of the economic abyss where it found itself as a result of World War II. We became a developed country and ensured a quite possible existence for the people. However, when the time came to assault the heights of modern technology, we began to lose in competition with the West. Of course, our people did not suffer from hunger and privation, and we could continue advancing slowly, at the previous pace. However, in that case we would have become the shoeshine men in the world community without noticing it! For example, I would dream about an interview with me being recorded on a Polish or Soviet tape recorder rather than a Japanese or a West German one. Millions of my fellow citizens likewise do not want to fall behind the world standard of production or standard of living.

However, a crisis broke out not only in industry but also in agriculture. We cannot feed our populace! We are not equal to the task of breeding the required number of hogs!!

We party did everything in order to overcome this crisis, and it came to the conclusion that the old path and customary management methods would not result in a complete success because tremendous forces were left out which for various reasons had found themselves on the sidelines of social progress. All of their energy was absorbed by criticizing the existing order.

The task of drawing these forces into the management of our society arose. This is why the PZPR did not give up power but rather shared it with others, despite finding itself in a minority. It could be that its position at present is weaker than what we counted on. However, as a result, the management mechanism has become more effective, and the party can now hope to gain authority by reason rather than by force and to create a more profound and stable social position for itself.

Look at what has been happening. In recent months, the standard of living of the Polish populace expressed in monetary units has declined by almost a factor of three. To be sure, this is a more consistent implementation of the policy initiated by the previous governments which were mainly formed by the PZPR, and this should bring about positive results quite soon (this is what the calculations that were done long ago suggest). The reason is that the surplus of money is now being vigorously taken away from the populace, and the market is filling with goods. However, the mechanism for reinvigorating the economy is imperfect. After all, it takes money away to the same degree from both the rich and the poor ...

The operation is merciless and cruel. However, strange things are happening which I for one have not completely grasped yet. The government of the former opposition which implements these unpleasant measures is enjoying continuously increasing support! Had my party resolved to undertake such measures at its time it would have been torn to shreds! Incidentally, we even held a referendum more than a year ago, and a majority came out categorically against such an "acceleration" of reforms. At present, people do cry, but nonetheless pay unbelievable sums now given.

[Nemikov] All of this is true. However, isn't the political price for what has been accomplished too high? After all, as recent PZPR history has been short a lead time....

[Lesnik] Inherent as I am to admit it, the party had no chance to succeed despite having to its credit the steps and actions as significant as stabilizing the situation following the anarchy of the early eighties, the initiation of renewal, a radical economic reform, as well as the "roundtable" itself and free elections.... Besides, we controlled considerable forces (the apparatus, the army, the security service, and so on) which would have allowed us to keep the monopoly on power for some time. However, it is known how harmful monopolization is to its environment, the authorities overgrow, begin to serve and protect only themselves, and give rise to a multitude of ugly antisocial phenomena. We deliberately gave up the monopoly. We wanted to create a mechanism for a peaceful parliamentary transfer of power which would be in line with the current "European standards." We knew that we would lose the election but we agreed to it because we knew that this was not the last election. By giving others a chance we also gave ourselves a chance in the future.

[Nemikov] Nonetheless, currently the issue of dissolving the party is on the agenda....

[Lesnik] The party intends to bring its activities to an end because it does not have social support. We should find a new form of existence of leftist forces which would organically fit the Polish landscape. I do not dramatize the events, on the contrary, I am proud that we are resolving this issue ourselves, without dragging it out until someone tears our party out of the social arena. I am sure that our time will come, and the society will yet need us. If it still turns out that we are not needed—well, we will have to disappear altogether because politics is dictated by the reality of life. However, I think that this will not come about. Even now we hear the voices of recognition. Even the notorious Jacek Kuron (current minister of labor) said recently about the PZPR: "It is the one carrying out a revolution, and we are merely falling in line with it."

[Nemikov] Are you a delegate to the forthcoming congress?

[Lesnik] Yes. I did not nominate myself as candidate. A personal reason was the primary factor here. I was one of those who led our society to the historic compromise. Its fruits did not "ripen" right away. They became tangible only after the events in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and later—particularly!—in Romania. Now it seems that something is stirring in Albania.... It turned out that we caught the wind of history in our sails rather than just made a political mistake and surrendered power. The party had simply exhausted all opportunities for the genuine exercise of power.

However, there was a short period of time when people who brought the "roundtable" about were ridiculed for having surrendered power without firing a shot. Only the blood spilled in Romania changed the evaluation. Now we are acknowledged as heroes. However, elections to the congress are already in the past.

I may say one thing. No matter what the fate of my party and the leftist movement is going to be I will serve it faithfully until the end of my days.

Social Democracy Party Founded in Poland

LD2901074690 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw January 29 TASS—The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, a new party of Polish left forces, was founded at a constituent congress here on Sunday. The party is a successor to the Polish United Workers' Party.

New Polish Party Congress Continues

LD2901132590 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw January 29 TASS—The constituent congress of Poland's new Social Democratic Party resumed its work in the Palace of Culture and Science here today.

The chairman of the Forum's Credentials Commission said that a "participation declaration" had been signed by 1,174 founding party members.

On the final day they will elect the party's steering bodies and pass resolutions on key internal political and international problems.

Polish Left-Wing Party Approves Declaration

LD2901085890 Moscow TASS in English 0847 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw January 29 TASS—After a heated debate, the constituent congress of the Polish left-wing party, now in session here, adopted a policy-making declaration on Sunday night. The document was voted in by 1,108 delegates to 60, with 82 abstentions.

"We want Poland to be a fatherland of free, equal people living in solidarity, a state of social justice," the document said. The congress favoured human rights and civic freedoms, a strong, law-abiding state, parliamentary democracy and a multiparty system.

The declaration endorsed a market-driven economy with elements of control, social responsibility of the state, a multiform economy and a gradual replacement of state-owned with public property which would assume various forms.

The forum was against depriving people of social gains, saying that the state's social policy should guarantee social security.

Dealing with foreign policy, the congress rejected the use of force in relations between states. It favoured disarmament and stronger confidence.

The document supported the idea of a common European home inhabited with well-wishing neighbours feeling their security. The right to life in existing secure borders is the foundation for the Polish state interests.

The declaration stressed that the development of well-wishing and good-neighbourly relations with Polish allies is especially important.

Congress expressed a desire to cooperate with all left-wing associations, the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, Solidarity and other public organizations.

Poland's Jaruzelski Talks With USSR Minister

LD2711086290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw 29 Jan (TASS)—Today Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Republic of Poland, received Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, who is on a working visit here.

The latter informed the head of the Polish state of the results of the on-going work to alter the model and economic mechanism of bilateral cooperation, and to bring them into line with the direction of the reforms in both countries. In particular, these changes concern the gradual move to a system of accounting using freely convertible currency. The bases for economic cooperation in the years 1991-95 were also examined from this perspective.

It was emphasized during the conversation that the expansion, renewal, and increase in the effectiveness of Polish-Soviet trade and economic cooperation should become an important factor in the success of the reforms in both countries, and at the same time should help those difficulties that exist to be surmounted and those conditions that are required for the stable economic development of the USSR and Poland are to be ensured.

Konstantin Katushev had talks with Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, and with Marcin Swiecicki, minister for foreign economic cooperation.

Anti-Salvation Front Protest in Bucharest

LD2901224090 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov, Nikolay Morozov and Vadim Lepsin:

Confrontation in Victory Square in the Romanian capital is sharpening. A group of militant opponents of the National Salvation Front (NSF), upon breaking through the barrier, found themselves in direct proximity to the building of NSF headquarters. They were followed by the crowd and the entrance of NSF headquarters was fully blockaded.

Numerous foreign journalists with still and video-cameras continuously take pictures of what is happening. At about 18.30 local time a motor car with two of people with pro-NSF placards on the roof of it rode into the square.

As darkness fell the atmosphere in the square is hotting up with every passing hour, and clashes originate in various places. Additional units of order maintenance forces have been brought to the Foreign Ministry building. They formed an additional cordon near the entrance to the building.

At about 19.00, local time, Corneliu Coposu, leader of the National Peasants Party, tried to address people from the balcony of the building. However, the crowd shouted him down.

"Today we witnessed attempts at a forcible seizure of power," Ion Iliescu, chairman of the NSF Council, said speaking from the balcony. "Those who believe that the NSF clings to power are wrong. Next week we shall carry on dialogue with all parties.

"The NSF favours democratic cooperation between all political forces of the country and unity for the benefit the native land. I am calling on everyone to keep order and tranquility and make every effort for organized withdrawal from the square. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Romanian television is now broadcasting live a roundtable meeting in the Foreign Ministry building between the leaders of the NSF and a number of political parties. The rally in the square is going on.

Overnight Demonstrations

LD2901110790 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest January 29 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikolay Morozov:

About 30 demonstrators spent the night in Bucharest's Victories Square last night. Unlike Sunday's demonstrations, however, they aim to defend the National Salvation Front, not demand its disbandment.

The demonstrators have only one banner. It says: "Down with those who seek easy profits. Support the National Salvation Front".

Supporters of the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party left the square on Sunday night. There are also law enforcement officers in the square, but not many. On the whole, the atmosphere is calm in that part of the city.

Latin America & Caribbean

Reportage on Brazilian President Sarney's Visit

30 Jan Arrival

LD3001081190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jan (TASS)—Fernando Collor de Mello, the new president of the Federal Republic of Brazil, who took up his post on 15 March, arrived in the USSR today as the guest of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The president-elect and his wife (Rosana) Collor are accompanied on their visit by advisers on political and economic issues and by representatives of Brazil's mass media.

This is the first time in the history of Soviet-Brazilian relations that the future head of state is coming to the USSR before having taken up execution of his duties as president of the republic.

Talks With Gorbachev

LD3101081190 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—By TASS correspondents Sergey Zhurkin and Andrey Petrovskiy:

Talk has begun at the Kremlin between Mikhail Gorbachev and Fernando Collor de Mello, the newly-elected president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, who will be sworn in on March 15. He arrived in the Soviet Union as a guest of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The meeting is supposed to focus on the sides' conceptual approaches to resolving regional conflicts. Besides, the interlocutors' attention is expected to be drawn to the state and prospects for the development of Soviet-Brazilian relations which are cemented by the permanent political dialogue between the two states. As for bilateral economic relations, there are considerable reserves here, which should be put to use on the mutually beneficial basis, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS. The newly-elected Brazilian president is the youngest in the entire history of the country. He is only 40. He made a trip to the USSR before the official inauguration to establish personal contacts with the Soviet leader. Fernando Collor has already visited with the same aim the United States and Japan. After his stay in Moscow, the president plans to visit several West European countries.

Remarks to Journalists

LD3101170990 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—Today's meeting in the Kremlin between Mikhail Gorbachev and Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello began in the presence of the numerous journalists.

The Soviet president expressed satisfaction with Fernando Collor's visit to Moscow. He said that the new president was right to travel abroad before starting to exercise difficult state duties.

The Brazilian guest expressed satisfaction with his arrival in Moscow and the warm welcome accorded him. He thanked his Soviet hosts for the readiness offered to him in the Lenin Hills and said he even found time to take a stroll early in the morning today in the park of the residence.

Collor is not only a major Brazilian politician who managed to beat off 21 challengers at the election. He is also a keen sportsman. Collor also scored considerable successes in this field—he holds a Black Belt in Karate.

Gorbachev acted this by saying that Moscow is welcoming a prominent sportsman as well as a world statesman.

Then the president and the Brazilian president-elect went into another hall for a one-on-one conversation which lasted for one hour.

PRAVDA on Talks

PM0202112590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1115 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting in the Kremlin 31 January with Fernando Collor de Mello, the Brazil president-elect who will be inaugurated in March.

Gorbachev congratulated Collor de Mello upon his election to president of one of the biggest countries of Latin America and the world. He greeted the representative of the people for whom Soviet people have profound sympathy and respect.

Their conversation assumed from the very outset the nature of a free exchange of opinions. It was marked by Gorbachev and Collor de Mello establishing the similarity of views on the processes in the world. They believe the world community is ushering in a new epoch in which there will be no room for confrontation, diktat, and use of force.

International relations should be based on such principles as respect for sovereignty, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and balance of interests.

Gorbachev said these processes are just beginning and will not proceed smoothly. It is ever more important that all countries, without exception, promote the development of positive tendencies and pursue a considered and responsible policy.

In this sense, cooperation and interaction between the Soviet Union and Brazil is an important factor of consolidating sound principles in international relations.

appropriate attention was given to the role and place of Latin America in world politics. The striving for independence, overcoming economic backwardness, and the solution to problems of the external indebtedness is growing in all the countries of the vast continent.

Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union sympathizes and solidarizes with the aspirations of Latin American peoples. The fact that Latin America embarks on independent development is an important phenomenon of the end of the 20th century.

The Soviet Union respects the choice of Latin American peoples and is prepared for equal cooperation with all countries of the region.

"We do not seek advantages in Latin America and we have no intention of developing relations with Latin Americans to the detriment of the ties that have formed in the continent," Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev and Collor de Mello exchanged information about domestic problems in both countries. They noted that with all the specific features of historic development and the nature of transformations being made in the Soviet Union and Brazil, there is similarity between these processes. The Soviet perestroyka and Brazil's dynamic development create favourable conditions for Soviet-Brazil cooperation.

Collor de Mello said that the Brazil Government, which will soon begin fulfilling its duties, and he personally are very interested in the development of relations with the Soviet Union in every direction.

This applies to political contacts, trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and other ties. The president-elect declared in favour of specific measures towards this being taken shortly by both sides.

Gorbachev supported Collor de Mello's proposal. "Our relations with Brazil are becoming stable. The two countries have huge potentials, and their economies supplement one another. Everything should be done to tap these vast opportunities. The Soviet Union is ready for this," Gorbachev said.

Collor de Mello invited Gorbachev to make an official visit to Brazil.

Gratefully accepting the invitation, Gorbachev said that he has a wish to visit that country.

Gorbachev and Collor de Mello assessed their meeting as constructive and useful for the development of good relations between the Soviet Union and Brazil.

Brasilia Radio Report

PY 311117 0900 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] A short time ago President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin. Collor considers this one of the most important meetings during his tour of Europe. He is due to visit the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, France, Portugal, and Spain.

During the meeting with Gorbachev, Collor extended an invitation for the Soviet leader to attend his inauguration on 15 March. The agenda also included Soviet-Brazilian relations under the future Brazilian Government.

Early today, before going to the Kremlin, Collor jogged for 75 minutes to keep in good shape. He jogged in the vicinity of the official residence at which he is staying, the Lenin Hills. He was accompanied by security guard (Dario Cesar Cavalcante). He then went to the Kremlin.

The meeting began at 1130, 0530 Brasilia time [1730 GMT]. Collor was accompanied only by future Civilian Household Chief Marcos Coimbra, while Gorbachev was accompanied by an interpreter.

Collor began by saying that he is very happy to be in the USSR, adding that he took the Cooper Ernesto test on the streets of Moscow. Gorbachev replied that it was a distinct honor for Moscow to host such an important athlete.

The journalists were allowed to stay at the room for only 5 minutes. In response to a question from a Brazilian reporter, Gorbachev denied that he would resign next week, as had been reported by the U.S. television. He said that rumors of this type are usually circulated whenever there is an important meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. He added that the situation in the USSR has changed a lot and that decisions are now taken in the open.

Visit Invitation

PY 310127 0700 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today accepted Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello's invitation to visit Brazil. The two leaders met in the Kremlin this morning.

Spokesman Claudio Humberto Rosa e Silva said that a date for the visit has not been confirmed, but it will not be for Collor's inauguration. Gorbachev and Collor's election represents perestroyka in Brazil. He also admitted that there are problems but that perestroyka is irreversible.

Gorbachev said that Collor is very young but that this does not mean that Gorbachev is old, a man does not grow old, he said, as long as he has ideals. Collor labeled the meeting as exceptionally good. He was also enthusiastic over Gorbachev's knowledge of Brazil's situation.

Fernando Collor also conveyed a message given to him by U.S. President George Bush when they met in the White House. Collor told Gorbachev that Brazilian-Soviet commercial relations are still in the early stages

and the two presidents agreed on the need to strengthen them through technical and scientific cooperation. Gorbachev noted that Latin America will be the great market of the 21st century, if the countries come out of the economic crisis. The two leaders also discussed the possibility of the Soviet Union becoming a member of GATT.

After the meeting Collor toured the Lenin Mausoleum, the Moscow subway, and Arbat Street, where there is a commercial and artistic center. He also visited the graves of the heroes of the Soviet revolution in the Kremlin. Collor then went to the Supreme Soviet for a working lunch with Anatoliy Lu'kyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Collor was also received by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. At night he went to the Bolshoi Theater to see the ballet "Giselle" and later attended a dinner given by Brazilian Ambassador Sebastiao do Rego Barros Neto.

Discussion With Shevardnadze

LD3101195490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1913 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 January (TASS)—A conversation took place today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Fernando Collor de Mello, president-elect of the Federative Republic of Brazil, who is in Moscow as a guest of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Approaches to the solution of the current global problems were set out by the two sides on a broad conceptual level. At the same time issues of disarmament and strengthening security, of the restructuring of international economic relations upon a just basis, of ecology and the transfer of scientific and technical achievements for the purposes of development were singled out as being ones of the first order. An exchange of opinions concerning the main tendencies determining the progress of the current process of changes in the world took place in the spirit of the similarity of the philosophical and political positions. It was stated that the USSR and Brazil are capable of building up constructive and fruitful cooperation in working out solutions conducive to the consolidation of positive elements of world development and corresponding to the interests of all peoples. In this context, noting the great importance of the Soviet Union's practical steps aimed at reducing tension in the world, the Brazilian side stresses that this also creates favorable opportunities for resolving the urgent tasks with which the developing countries are faced.

During a discussion of bilateral relations the shared conviction was expressed that the dialectic of their development place on the agenda a changeover to a qualitatively new stage in cooperation in the trade, economic, scientific, and technical and other fields, which would be in keeping with the potential of the two states and would assist solving internal development tasks. It was stressed that this is indeed the vision by which both sides will be guided in their approach to specific issues of bilateral relations.

The conversation passed off in an amicable atmosphere and was imbued with openness and mutual understanding.

Transcaucasus Situation

Central Press Continues Reportage of Events

Agenda for Talks in Latvia

*PM0102091990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent Irina Litvinova dispatch under "Direct Line" rubric: "Talks in Latvia on Situation in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia's mass media have reported that talks between representatives of people's movements from Azerbaijan and Armenia are being organized by the Baltic Council (which comprises leaders of the Lithuanian "Sajudis" movement and the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts). I was told at the Latvian People's Front residence that this report is well founded.

The Baltic Council condemned the use of military force in this conflict and offered to mediate in its settlement. Telegrams containing proposals along these lines were sent to Baku and Yerevan. The leaderships of the Azerbaijan People's Front and the Armenian Pannational Movement telephoned in reply, consenting to meet in Riga.

Both sides have agreed not to discuss questions concerning territorial claims. The agenda lists the following items: Introduction of the army in both republics, the refugee situation on both sides, discussion of humanitarian questions associated with this problem.

It was announced at the Latvian People's Front that talks are supposed to begin 1 February. Public figures from Lithuania's "Sajudis" and the Estonian People's Front, who are responsible for holding the talks, will also arrive on that day. A press conference for journalists is planned.

Update of Baku Situation

*PM3101163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 6*

[Special correspondent Igor Andreyev report: "Baku, 31 January"]

[Text] Baku-Moscow—The city is calm and, it seems to me, stable. It is currently hard to even imagine that just a few days ago, last week, journalists entered the city protected by assault troops: That was the military command's order. I do not know how justified that measure was, but it is now drawing complaints from the local authorities and from my Azerbaijani journalist colleagues. "Don't whip up tension!" they say, "nothing was threatening you...."

Yesterday evening I strolled around a Baku that was growing deserted. A chance passerby curiously showed me the way when I got lost. The city is returning to its normal peaceful life. Half of Baku's students are back in their classes and lecture theaters. A number—admittedly a small number—of kindergartens have reopened. Transport services are running. Although there are still few streetcars, buses, and trolleybuses. Attempts by "groups of irresponsible citizens"—as the newspaper VYSHKA put it—to impede the work of transportation continue. They are stopping vehicles, ordering passengers out, and telling the drivers to return to the depot.... Enterprises that are vitally important to the city are operating, but the city's refuse collection services are very strained. There is quite a reasonable selection of goods in the stores, although—as K. Shcherbakov, deputy chairman of the city soviet executive committee, put it—it is far from perfect.

Traffic on the Azerbaijan Railroad is building up. The main problem in this area is the unloading of cars carrying freight for Baku and the republic's other cities. Repair workers at the Oil and Gas Extraction Administration named for the 26 Baku Commissars have gone back to work after a 10-day stoppage. They will have to repair around 600 pumping units—one-third of all wells—which will take at least 3 months' hard work. The sad result of the stoppage is 10,000 tonnes of oil undersupplied in January.

Here is what Colonel V. Korolkov, military commandant of Baku's Nasiminskiy Rayon, told me:

"The transportation system is the most important thing in the city at the moment. Three highly important motor vehicle depots are located on our rayon's territory—the vehicles ship foodstuffs and gasoline. We ourselves cleared away the hardware that was blocking the gates. We called on the drivers to take the vehicles out and deliver food and fuel. It didn't work. I gave the manager responsible for the gasoline tankers an official warning. The next day some of the vehicles had left the depot.... But there are also leaders who should not be given warnings. One of them phoned me: 'Chief, give me a gas tanker. I'll bring the fuel myself. I'll load up my vehicles and take goods to people.' We issued him a vehicle and off he went. If only we had more enterprising people like that things would get back to normal a bit faster...."

...Outdoors, as before, discussions spring up if people see that you are an outsider. They use the following arguments: Troops are not needed in Baku. There are no extremists apart from a group of hooligans who do deserve to be behind bars. The central newspapers are lying. Anti-Azerbaijani sentiments in Moscow are being orchestrated by an Armenian lobby.... There are even curious occurrences: Someone with a journalist's badge on his lapel seriously tried to convince me that he had seen a list of IZVESTIYA staffers full of Armenian names. The owners of these names, he claimed, occupy key positions at the editorial office, which is why the newspaper is so lacking in objectivity when covering events in Azerbaijan. Dumbstruck by such "information," I introduced myself and said that I could come back with the editorial list in 10 minutes. That flummoxed my local colleague.

An amazingly similar discussion took place the other day at the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, where press conferences are now regularly held. This correspondent came in for a fair amount of criticism for reports "providing biased coverage of the situation in Baku and whipping that situation up." I was accused of making factual errors: It seems that two people rather than four—as I had stated—were killed when an armored personnel carrier crashed into Zhiguli. Fundamental importance was attached to this. My attempt to explain was interrupted by my local colleagues: "You keep quiet. We're ashamed of you...."

Well, even I am not perfect, and the information obtained at first-hand from Baku is not always irreproachable. Here is another example. Yesterday the troops bade farewell to Colonel G. Petrov, whose mysterious disappearance near Baku I had already reported. One version I was told at the troop headquarters was linked to some armored personnel carrier—whose was unknown—which the colonel entered shortly before his disappearance. You will agree that it is natural that the disappearance of a military man of that rank in an area where just a week ago people were spitting at any Army vehicle will be linked to an extremist kidnapping. It is now known that this had nothing to do with it. Georgy Nikolayevich fell victim to his own carelessness and the poor condition of the bridge he was crossing. Failing in the dark to notice a fair-sized hole in the bridge, he fell through it....

One could also confess that IZVESTIYA published photographs of refugees which, by the time of publication, were no longer in line with the fast-changing situation in Baku. People have probably noticed that one of them was somewhat out of date—the camera had recorded large snowdrifts, even though the weather in Baku had been fine for the last couple of days.... What can you do—it so happened that the complex conditions governing a journalist's work in Azerbaijan today, difficulties with communications, and problems with the transmission of photographic material to the editorial office resulted in annoying slips. But here is a typical sign—everyone in Baku, including professional journalists who are perfectly well aware that things like this do happen in our work, attributed these "pinpricks" to the editorial office's bad intentions, to its desire to depict the situation worse than it actually is.

Who was it that aggravated the situation and whipped up passions, bearing in mind the AZERINFORM 20 January report which I have in my hands and which was disseminated by the republic's news agency through official channels? I quote: "Azerbaijan's capital is awash with blood...", "Baku's streets are blocked by bodies...", "Troops are attacking the civilian population...." By way of sparing the national feelings of my Azeri colleagues, and aware of the shock they must have felt as a result of the truly tragic events that day, I did not identify the source of this news report in my conversation with Colonel General B. Omelichev, first deputy chief of General Staff, which was published by IZVESTIYA. I am doing so now, though, at a time when we Moscow journalists are accused of bias.

It was claimed at the press conference that the military succumbed to panic and evacuated their families. There were apparently no reasons to do this, they were in no way threatened. By sending their families away, the men in uniform supposedly provoked the departure of the Russian-speaking population....

My notebook contains records of many testimonies by officers. Here is the story told by my acquaintance Communications Major Aleksandr Skorobogatko, which well describes the situation at the time:

"I came off duty in the evening of the 19th, before we had switched to barracks regulations. I went home to sleep. In the morning of the 20th there was noise outside the windows, uproar, shooting, a crowd of several hundred. Their behavior was threatening. My only weapon was an ax. I telephoned the office—get us out. We can't do it yet, I was told, there's nobody to spare, everyone is busy. One fellow-serviceman said: Come to me, Sasha, take a rifle. I felt more at ease. My only thought was: Would I be able to reload the 5-bullet magazine if they start forcing their way in and I have to shoot. I mounted a defense until evening in the company of about a dozen families who had packed inside my apartment. They arrived later and lifted the blockade. It goes without saying that we sent all our families away. How could we fight if our relatives are held hostage at home.... All this talk about panic is insulting to us, the military. To hear them talk, you'd imagine that everything was running smoothly and quietly in Baku, and we simply took fright for no reason at all."

What is all this about capturing power?—people in Baku say now. Here, if you please, is just a single incident indicating the serious intentions of the extremist wing of the republican People's Front. I was told by Colonel General K. Kobets, chief of communications of the USSR Armed Forces, that a group of active People's Front members was detained in the Azerbaijan Ministry of Communications having had, to all intents and purposes, taken communications in the republic under its control. They had organized eavesdropping on telephone conversations, including military conversations. Private conversations between citizens were no secret for the informals, either. There were occasions when conversations were interrupted with threats by the "communications thugs" to subscribers who were not sufficiently patriotic.

Yes, the tension is easing today, but the curfew remains in force and I am convinced that this harsh measure does not aggravate the situation, as some citizens claim, but is actually stabilizing it.

I drove through the city by car at night: Captain Sergey Kasatkin, a former "Afghan," was inspecting the guards. It is a strange feeling, driving through a totally deserted Baku, but what can you do, it was not the army that began the local outrages. Traffic lights blink and change

from red to green, but only a very occasional car would run along the park-lined road.

A line of Internal Troops soldiers marches along the street near the medical institute. They are combing the area. It was reported that a man with an automatic rifle had been sighted there. Maybe someone's eyes played a trick, and even if he did see correctly, where is that man to be found in the dozens of houses and hundreds of apartments.... A fairly new "Niva" with official registration plates was stopped. The driver has a night pass, but without the military commandant's signature. He was detained until his identity and the origins of the nonvalid document could be established.

...Yes, this is Baku today—shaking off the nightmare of the past few days, tense, remaining on guard.

Effort To End Strike

PM0102115790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report under "Emergency Situation" rubric and general heading "En Route to Stabilization"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 31 Jan—The strike in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is continuing. Until now only enterprises and organizations providing vital services have been operating. The situation in the area covered by the state of emergency is still relatively calm. The military commandant's office is taking steps to further normalize it and put an end to the strike, which may become a destabilizing factor in the given situation.

Work is continuing to lift the blockade on the highways. Freightcars have begun to travel regularly along the Agdam-Stepanakert stretch of railroad. The autonomous oblast is receiving food, fuel, and other economic freight by rail.

V.K. Fotcyev, chairman of the union NKAO monitoring and inspection commission, arrived in Stepanakert 31 January along with other commission members.

'Stage-Managed' Demonstration

PM3101103590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Major G. Pantelcyev report: "Who Is Doing Stage-Managing?"]

[Text] I chanced to see a strange spectacle at about 1700 hours on 22 January in Arbat Square. A crowd of some 500-700 people, strips of black and green cloth on poles, and banners saying things like: "Thousands dead in Baku." As it later emerged, Azerbaijanis living in Moscow had gathered here—and some had possibly traveled here specially.

I was struck by the fact that the crowd was being stage-managed by several people; on signals from them it would start to chant inflammatory slogans and perform "maneuvers." I was also struck by the vast number of Western correspondents, before whose camera and movie camera lenses the demonstrators eagerly posed.

I could not help thinking: Is this not the reason why the organizers have staged the demonstration? It was embarrassing to watch all this and read the slogans—far removed from the truth and some, like the one I mentioned above, constituting downright disinformation. Someone will have to answer for this, however.

Many of my comrades have risked their lives recently while helping to establish peace and calm in Azerbaijan and Armenia. There are dead and wounded among the servicemen. It is hard to imagine what would be happening in Baku and other cities today if the troops had not gone there. After all, dozens of people had already been killed and thousands driven from their homes. Someone had to stop the murderers and rapists. Why was this not done by those who are now leading people—people confused by nationalist propaganda—out onto the streets of Baku, and Moscow too, carrying anti-Soviet and anti-army slogans? Surely it is time to call the organizers of these events to account?

Primakov, Girenko Comments

PM3101154090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department held a meeting yesterday in the PRAVDA conference hall between Ye.M. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and leaders of the mass media. The situation that has taken shape in Azerbaijan and Armenia provided the topic of conversation.

A.S. Kapto, head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, opened the meeting. Then Ye.M. Primakov and A.N. Girenko, who recently returned from Baku, which they visited, as is well known, during the critical days in January, described how the situation in the republic has developed and heated up of late and the tragic maelstrom of events that overtook hundreds and thousands of ordinary Azerbaijani people because of the People's Front leaders.

The meeting also described how the situation has begun to improve of late and what must be done to completely surmount the crisis situation.

Ye.M. Primakov and A.N. Girenko urged journalists and all the mass media to adopt a considered, well thought-out approach and answered numerous questions.

'Fanning Ethnic Dissension'

PM3101192990 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 4

[TASS report under general headline "Concerning Events in Transcaucasus": "Fabrication Exposed"]

[Text] Tashkent—Judging by everything, some leaders of the Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] are no longer satisfied with fanning ethnic dissension only in their own republic.

They have decided to sow the seeds of enmity and mistrust among peoples in other regions of the country. How else can one explain the provocation attempted by them and which was promptly exposed by journalists of the Turkestan Military District newspaper FRUNZEVETS?

The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic military commissar received a telegram (a photocopy of which was reproduced by the newspaper) signed by the APF's Udzhary section, claiming that 56 Uzbeks had been killed at the Baku Garrison's Salyanskiye Barracks as a result of an exchange of fire between Russian soldiers and soldiers of other nationalities.

On instructions from the editorial office, Captain A. Veklich, FRUNZEVETS special correspondent in Baku, visited the Salyanskiye Barracks and met soldiers and officers. This is what he found out.

The situation in the district was tense. APF thugs repeatedly opened fire at the soldiers, including Azerbaijanis and Uzbeks. Uzbek Private Kh. Saidov, drafted from Bukhara Oblast, described how he and his comrades suddenly came under fire from the roofs of nearby houses. Another Uzbek soldier, Private Sh. Egamnazarov, also came under fire by extremists in the combat equipment pool. According to their orders, the soldiers were forced to return fire in self-defense. As for ethnically based enmity between the soldiers themselves and some sort of "casualties" as a result of an alleged exchange of fire between them, this was an outright fabrication, as was declared by all with whom the journalist had a chance to talk: Officers V. Bochuk and A. Berest, conscripts from the subunit commanded by Officer A. Kharchenko, and many others.

So, one more provocation by the extremists has burst like a soap bubble. But are others likely to follow?

Miners Reject 'Provocation'

PM3101193990 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 4

[TASS report under general headline "Concerning Events in Transcaucasus": "It Did Not Work Out..."]

[Text] Shakhtersk, Donetsk Oblast—Identical telegrams arrived almost simultaneously at the strike committees of all mines in Shakhtersk City, Donetsk Oblast.

Judging by the contents of these telegrams, representatives of the "People's Front" in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic city of Fizuli, allegedly on behalf of all their compatriots, issued a call for solidarity. How is solidarity perceived by the authors of the telegrams? They urge people to believe... all manner of slanderous fabrications about the situation in Azerbaijan and, on this basis, to convey their indignation to Moscow, to the center, which, according to their claims, is to blame for the feuds between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

But those who sent these telegrams to the Shakhtersk collectives failed to take one factor into consideration: People in Donetsk now have an opportunity to obtain eyewitness accounts of events in Azerbaijan. Transport aircraft carrying refugees—members of servicemen's families—landed at Donetsk Airport a few days ago. The wives and children of the military, wishing to remain anonymous for obvious reasons, made no secret of the fact that they were actually the targets of many actions by the extremists.

Nonetheless, the strike committees let the miners pass their own judgment on the appeal. The text of the "Appeal by Residents of Fizuli City" was read out to them before they went on duty. But the only reaction it produced among the miners was indignation. The city strike committee started receiving letters, telegrams, and telephone calls in reply. This empowered the Shakhtersk City strike committee, on behalf of all miners, to sign a message of reply in which the miners of the "Shakhterskugol" Association condemned extremist actions fueling interethnic dissension among the peoples inhabiting the Transcaucasian republics. They expressed support for the government's decision on measures to stabilize the situation in the region.

As for the telegram from Fizuli, the Donetsk miners deemed it to be a provocation.

Transcaucasus Situation Reported by Moscow TV

KGB's Prelin on Troops' Restraint

LD3101232490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2059 GMT 31 Jan 90

["News Night Topical Interview" with USSR KGB Colonel I.N. Prelin by correspondent Sergey Milyanchikov; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Milyanchikov] What is the role of the State Security Committee in the events that have been unfolding lately in Transcaucasia?

[Prelin] If one speaks of the KGB sub-units, one must mean first and foremost the border troops. Our border troops demonstrated very great restraint and presence of mind. They did not submit to the provocations although the situation was very difficult: People were smashing the border, let us say it bluntly, they were destroying all military installations and blockading the border troop

subunits. The situation on the border is now normalizing. This means certain reinforcements have been sent there because it is necessary to restore what was destroyed, to put things in order and to guarantee the protection of the state border. That is a sacred cause.

[Milyanchikov] But, apart from the subunits of border troops, there also exist other subunits of the committee [KGB].

[Prelin] Our operational establishments, so to speak, the local KGB bodies are working here in contact with the other law enforcement bodies and with the internal affairs bodies, the militia, with the bodies of local authority. Naturally all measures are being taken to nip in the bud these attempts to steal arms, to make arms, to distribute and sell them, attempts to rob arms dumps. There were also cases when arms were transferred in from other regions.

[Milyanchikov] Normally there is no free transfer of arms. How much does a firearm cost today?

[Prelin] Yesterday we met with newsmen who had come from Transcaucasia, and I can only cite them: A Kalashnikov automatic weapon, for instance, with a wooden butt has an asking price of about R3,000. An assault automatic gun with a folding butt has an asking price of up to R4,000.

[Milyanchikov] There are rumors Armenian and Azerbaijanian guerillas are arriving in Moscow with weapons. How justified are these rumors and what is the KGB doing to uphold law and order and to locate these firearms?

[Prelin] Those rumors are precisely rumors, although they are not remaining without attention. They are taken into consideration in our work. We are working today in contact with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Of course, all these rumors and alarm calls of such a nature are checked out. Measures are taken so as not to allow this conflict to spread to other parts of our country, including Moscow. Of course, it is impossible also to exclude the fact that certain forces, especially extremist-minded forces, will endeavor to provoke various kinds of conflicts, to continue to intensify the situation, will attempt to force the law enforcement organs and the army subunits into, let us say, fire contact, and to cause more fatalities, because this plays into their hands, of course. But I repeat that both the troops and the law enforcement bodies are displaying a very great restraint in this situation. [video shows milyanchikov, prelin in civilian clothes in a conference room, other unidentified people with tape recorders]

Armenian Procurator on Firearms

LD3101225890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Nazaryan from Yerevan]

[Text] The republican council on the emergency situation has been meeting every morning in Yerevan for 3 weeks now. Understandably, different issues are discussed here but always the most topical, burning and urgent ones: The refugees, their problems, the economic situation in the republic in connection with the blockade, the situation in the regions bordering on Azerbaijan, the handover to People's Militia detachments of weapons, ammunition, and equipment which had previously been illegally taken. Incidentally, it is precisely this problem which is still among the more important. [video shows council in session]

One of the rayon departments of the republic's Interior Ministry is Echmiadzinskiy. [video shows militia department] Almost all of the standard issue weapons [tabelnoye oruzhiye] were seized here as well, 123 pistols. Into whose hands did they fall? Against whom could they be aimed? All these days alarm did not leave either the militia employees themselves or party and local soviet officials. Laborious, explanatory work with the people in collectives and at their places of residence has begun. Here is the first result. A telephone call about the fact that 81 pistols have been thrown away in a certain place. The call was anonymous; people still fear responsibility. [video shows one militia worker handing over a bag of pistols to another militia worker]

[V.R. Nazaryan, procurator of the Armenian SSR—identified from screen caption] As far as individuals, the criminal elements, the amount of weapons which have fallen into the hands of the criminal elements are concerned, so-called task forces have been organized in all of the Interior Ministry rayon departments and Interior Ministry city administratins, and they will take all realistic measures for neutralizing criminal elements into whose possession arms have fallen. [Video shows Nazaryan being interviewed]

Riga To Host 'Consultative' Meeting

LD3101222890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As Ninel Kosyanova, our correspondent in Latvia, has reported representatives of the popular movements of the Baltic republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan will assemble for a consultative meeting in Riga tomorrow morning. The Popular Front of Latvia and Estonia and Sajudis, the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka made a mediation proposal to the People's Front of Azerbaijan and the Armenian Pannational Movement [Armyanskoye vsenatsionalnoye dvizheniye]. It is an attempt to reconcile the two neighboring peoples. It must be supposed that the consultative meeting of the representatives of the popular movements of the Baltics, Armenia, and Azerbaijan will consider issues connected with Nagorno-Karabakh, with the implementation of the decisions of the USSR Supreme

Soviet session, and the normalization of the situation in the region. It is expected this meeting will last several days.

Moscow Radio Coverage of Transcaucasus Conflict

MVD Report

LD0102110890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The USSR Interior Ministry press center reports from Baku:

Azerbaijan is returning to its usual life. Changes directed at stabilizing the situation are being noted in the towns and villages of the republic. Not one crime or other offense of an interethnic nature has been recorded in the republic's capital in the last 24 hours. Public transport and trade, public catering and service installations have been functioning. The majority of industrial enterprises have been working either fully or partially.

An appeal from the Baku city party committee and executive committee of people's deputies has been broadcast on republican television. It condemns the provactive attempt by individual irresponsible persons to stir up interethnic dissension. Rumors about cases of oppression of the Russian-speaking population were categorically refuted. Calls were made for cohesion, the strengthening of internationalist traditions and a common rebuff to the provocateurs. A similar appeal from Azerbaijanis living in Shamkhorskiy Rayon to the people of Baku has been published in the local press.

A meeting held yesterday by the republican council of war and labor veterans and the armed forces with Lieutenant General Dubinyak, commandant of the city of Baku, and Major General Kirilyuk, his deputy, has prompted an echo in Baku and throughout Azerbaijan as a whole. The participants in the meeting were briefed, in particular, on the tasks being fulfilled in the conditions of the state of emergency by subunits of the USSR Interior Ministry internal troops. Confidence that sallies by individual renegades are incapable of destroying friendship between the Russian and Azerbaijani peoples was expressed on behalf of the war and labor veterans.

Local party, soviet and law-enforcement bodies, with the participation of USSR Interior Ministry staff and representatives of the internal troops and the Soviet Army, are continuing to perform active explanatory work among the population and in labor collectives. Troop subunits and law-enforcement bodies are ensuring order in the city. Workers' militia support detachments and people's public order maintenance patrols are involving themselves more and more broadly in tackling this important task. Former Afghanistan servicemen and staff of internal affairs bodies are conducting joint patrols in rayons of the city.

Gradual Control

LD3101183590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Our correspondent Sergey Omelcheno has had a telephone interview with Major General Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Nechayev, deputy head of the political directorate of the Internal Troops:

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Encouraging news has been coming from the Transcaucasus over the last few days: The situation is stabilizing. Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, how are things today?

[(Nechayev)] The situation is coming under control—gradually and, let's put it bluntly, with difficulty, but it is returning to normality. Commanders, political workers, and the servicemen of the Internal Troops and the Army are engaged in active explanatory work in labor collectives. Leaflets are being used among the population, and broadcasting is taking place in the streets, whipping up conjectures and provocative rumors—and there are more than enough of them! I will point out that the role in the explanatory work played by the local organs of power is, in our view, still very low. One really cannot remain silent at the moment.

Public transportation, enterprises, trade, and the service sphere are functioning in Baku. Yet tension still remains. Leaflets are being distributed in the city, calling for the continuation of the struggle and for strikes.

[Omelchenko] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, how is the Popular Front of Azerbaijan influencing the situation at the moment?

[(Nechayev)] The actions of the ultras, the radical wing of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, are of course aimed at destabilizing the situation. In Gyandzha, let us say, they are doing a good job of pressurizing the situation. But even so, in Gyandzha, despite this, the minds of the people are also awakening.

[Omelchenko] How are things at the moment in Armenia?

[(Nechayev)] The situation in the republic is still difficult. Anti-Soviet slogans and threats against servicemen have been heard. One continues to be worried by the fact that a highly significant quantity of weapons still remains in the hands of the population of Armenia and Azerbaijan, especially since there is reliable information that these weapons are in the hands of criminals and are being actively used by them. [end recording]

Situation Improving

LD3101175690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] On the situation in Baku: Our special correspondent Gennadiy Kolenov reports.

[Kolenov] [Passage omitted] Thanks to the efforts of the military, public transportation has resumed working. The military are also engaged in a great deal of explanatory work, holding meetings with people and with the public. Thus, for example, Lieutenant General Vladimir Sergeyevich Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku city, held a meeting today with veterans of war, work, and the Armed Forces. Here is what he said, in part:

[Begin Dubinyak recording] The majority of enterprises began working on Monday and I said that, myself, in my report. Immediately, telephones began to ring at the television station saying that the commandant's majority was untrue. I confirm this again, that the majority began to work. It is a different matter that at this majority not all the production lines began working. That is a different matter.

There are examples of aggressive activity. Yesterday, for example, at 2300, at the Baku 22d Party Congress oil refinery someone fired a Makarov pistol and wounded a soldier on duty there. The person who caused the wound is being sought. But these are all isolated incidents by people who have not yet calmed down. There is no longer any organized opposition to the authorities, there are no aggressive manifestations.

A program has now been worked out—it was presented to the chairman of the Council of Ministers yesterday—for the gradual relaxation of the curfew. If there are no demonstrations it will be possible to withdraw the armored vehicles. It is these which particularly annoy the inhabitants of Baku. We have elaborated this program and we have a positive attitude. Everything will depend on how the situation develops. [end recording]

TASS Updates Transcaucasus Developments

'Returning to Normal'

LD3101182190 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 31 TASS—By special TASS correspondents Pavel Sinyakov and Vladimir Fomin:

The situation in Baku is gradually returning to normal. City transportation, shops and public catering establishments are functioning. Students have resumed their studies. A number of large industrial factories are operating.

We visited Baku's largest department store, "Baky." In January it only closed on the republican day of mourning for the people who died during the events on January 19 and 20. Almost all of the over 500 employees are working. The situation nevertheless has affected trade. The department store, the directkrate reported, fulfilled the January sales plan only by 50 per cent.

Military posts still dot the streets. More and more Baku people are starting to realise that this is a forced measure. Sometimes people say that troops should have been moved in earlier—right after the pogroms began—in order to avoid the large number of civilian and army casualties.

No shots were fired on Tuesday night, reported the Commandant's Office of the 26 Baku Commissars District. There was a false call to the "Bakinets" metro station, but that was only the sound of a car gas exhaust.

The local press reports that the public Prosecutor' Office has taken action against criminals who stirred up mass disorders in Baku, starting from January 13. An investigation has been started.

Not only public prosecution agencies are trying to figure out what happened. Soviet people's deputy, Colonel Nikolay Petrushenko privately arrived in Baku for the same purpose. "Every pogrom case on January 13 and 14 should be thoroughly investigated," he said in an interview to the newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. Those who committed violence must not go unpunished. Criminal elements who provoked violence and instigated action should be punished according to law. The forces whose actions led to the loss of life on January 19-20 should be sternly punished," the people's deputy said. [no opening quotation marks as received]

Azeri 'Provocations' Exposed

LD3101184790 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Tashkent January 31 TASS—Judging by their activities, some leaders of the Azerbaijani militants are no longer content with the extent of ethnic strife within their own republic. They have decided to export seeds of hostility and mistrust to other regions of the country. What else can explain their act of provocation in Uzbekistan, which was exposed by journalists of the FRUNZEVETS newspaper in the Turkestan military district?

The military commandant of Uzbekistan received a telegram (its copy was printed in the newspaper) signed by the head of the Uzbharsk district branch of the Azerbaijan Popular Front. The telegram reported that 56 Uzbeks had been killed as a result of skirmishes between Russians and servicemen of other nationalities in the Salyanskiy barracks of the Baku Garrison.

The newspaper dispatched a special correspondent to investigate on the spot. A visit to the barracks and talks with soldiers and officers revealed the following.

The situation was extremely tense in the area. Popular Front militants repeatedly opened fire on the servicemen, Azeris and Uzbeks among them.

Private Kh. Saydov, an Uzbek from Bukhara Region, recalled that he and his friends had found themselves under fire from the roofs of the neighbouring houses. Another Uzbek, private Sh. Egamnazarov, was fired on while in the weapons depot.

In keeping with the orders, the soldiers opened fire in response to defend themselves.

As regards inter-ethnic strife among servicemen and alleged casualties resulting from shootouts in their midst, there are no facts to support this fiction, the journalists was told by all interviewees.

Another act of provocation by militants has failed. But was it the last one?

Losses Estimated

LD301105290 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 30 TASS—The situation in Azerbaijan is gradually returning to normal. City transport is functioning, shops and restaurants have reopened. Educational establishments have resumed studies. Several major industrial enterprises are operating.

Strikes continue in several towns. Workshops remained idle at a number of enterprises in the towns of Sheki, Sumgait, Agdam, Gyanja, Nakhichevan, Ryzhevsk, Sabirk, Gulf and Ordubad.

Delayed at the Azerbaijan railway are 164 freight trains, 113 of which are intended for Armenia.

According to the Azerbaijan State Committee for Statistics, 92 out of the republic's 500 enterprises remained idle on January 29.

The republic's economy incurred immense losses due to the recent developments, especially in January. Strike-related losses were estimated at 250.2 million rubles, counting from January 16, losses in the construction industry stand at 30.3 million rubles.

Interior Ministry troops and Soviet army units, backed by the public, are conducting measures to strengthen law and order and protect the population. An investigation instituted by the prosecutor's office into mass disturbances that occurred in Baku starting on January 13 is continuing.

Ever more inhabitants realize the need for the earliest normalization of the situation. They are increasingly displeased with anti-social actions by extremist groups who seek to stir conflict.

Baku residents are greatly interested in press publications. The recent interview with people's deputy of the USSR Nikolay Petrushenko evoked immense interest. Asked what he, a professional soldier, thinks about the sending of troops, Petrushenko replied: "In working out a plan, the command had a legal foundation—the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium on the introduction of the state of emergency in Baku.

"The troops had a specific task and fulfilled it. As to the curfew in Baku, Nagorno-Karabakh and the bordering regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia, it could be lifted only when the last extremist is disarmed."

No complications have been registered on the state border in Azerbaijan region during the past twenty-four hours. Local residents and deputies who support the measures taken to restore order on the border address frontier guards.

Nonetheless, attempts to bring contraband goods across the border continue. 209 people were detained during the past day as they attempted to cross the border illegally.

At a meeting yesterday, Soviet and Iranian border commissioners agreed on the reciprocal extradition of violators of the state border.

Security Situation Outlined

LD301115290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2128 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report from the scene: [passage omitted]

According to an announcement from the Baku commandant, 811 pogroms in the apartments of Armenians, which occurred between 13 and 18 January, have been confirmed.

The total number of those who died in the capital of Azerbaijan since the introduction there of the state of emergency amounts to 130, according to the latest information from the republic's Ministry of Health. This figure includes 108 civilians, 8 servicemen from the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, 20 servicemen from the Soviet Army, and 5 militia personnel. Four hundred and ninety-eight people have been wounded.

In Azerbaijan's Ministry of Communications, a group of Popular Front activists who, in effect, took over the state system of communications within the republic have been detained. This was announced to [illegible] by Col Gen Boris [illegible], commander-in-chief of the USSR Armed Forces. They organized eavesdropping on telephone conversations, including those of military personnel. Citizens' private conversations, which were sometimes interrupted by threats against "insufficiently patriotic" subscribers, were also no secret to these corporate crooks.

In Nagorno-Karabakh there is still a strike underway. The participants object to the stay in the autonomous oblast of a group of representatives from the leadership of Azerbaijan. But the situation is comparatively calm. The unblocking of the roads continues. There is now constant traffic along the stretch of railway track between the Azerbaijani station of Agdam and Stepanakert. Goods trains carrying food and fuel are arriving—as it is the autonomous oblast. [passage omitted]

Talks between representatives of the popular movements of Azerbaijan and Armenia will start on 1 February in Riga, the capital of Latvia, [illegible] reported today. They are being organized by the Baltic Council, which

comprises the leaders of the Lithuanian movement Sajudis and the Popular Fronts of Latvia and Estonia. The Baltic Council, the newspaper points out, has condemned the use of military force in the Transcaucasian conflict and has offered to act as mediator in settling it.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The operational staff of the republican council on the special situation told an [illegible] correspondent the following on 31 January:

Last night was probably the calmest since the start of the [illegible] operations in Baku. There were no attempts to seize arms. The surrender of various types of arms to military units and Soviet army representatives is continuing.

In the next few days, the operational staff must devote its utmost attention to certain issues, foremost among which is the need to continue to surrender arms in view of the fact that the army units control the situation everywhere and guarantee the security of the republic's population. There is particular concern over the organization of helicopter flights to villages in Shamkhorskiy Rayon and Gyandzha oblast where there are shortages of foodstuffs and urgently required medicines. The operational staff must devote attention to holding high-level negotiations to bring about the resumption of helicopter flights and as speedily resolve this important issue.

The issue of placing the Gyandzha road under military control was discussed at the operational staff's meetings a few days ago, in view of the fact that certain sectors of that road are dangerous for transportation. It was indicated today that the army was guarding the most dangerous sectors of the road.

It was also pointed out that negotiations are continuing to end the blockade on the Gyandzha-Stepanakert road, although they have yet to produce results. The negotiations on ending the blockade of the railways have also achieved no results. Despite the fact that two trains traveled to Yukhary-Askeran from Shagi, the opposing sides are not fulfilled its promise and no trains entered Armenia from Nakhichevan [words indistinct].

Another important issue is the occupation of a few abandoned houses in the Kurdo village of Shahumyanskiy Rayon of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic by Armenian refugees from Baku. The refugees explained this move by arguing that they had abandoned their own homes in Baku and are now occupying the abandoned houses in the village within the territory of the Azerbaijan republic and consider this to be legal. The operational staff considered it important to conduct explanatory work among these refugees and persuade them to leave the houses to prevent any tension in interethnic relations.

According to figures published by the Ministry of Health, as of 31 January, [illegible] refugees from Baku are being treated in Armenian clinics.

Republican Council Meeting

[illegible] Armenian Domestic Service in Armenian [illegible] GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The regular meeting of the republican council on the special situation took place on 31 January. The council members discussed the outstanding questions regarding the stabilization of the situation in the Armenian republic. Samvel Gevorkyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was briefed about the situation in the republic and about the concrete measures being taken to stabilize the situation, provide vital services to the population, and ensure the operation of the fuel and power systems.

After hearing the reports of the operational staff, law enforcement officials, and representatives of the Soviet Army, the council stated that life is gradually returning to normal in the border regions. There have been no attacks in these areas during the day. The arrival and deployment of the troop units in these regions have been completed. The return of the fighters has commenced. To speed up their withdrawal, the council viewed it as expedient to engage the party organs—from which the volunteer groups had been formed—in Yerevan city and in other regions in this work. It was indicated that the operational staff attached to the republican council on the special situation is working energetically in this direction.

The extensive [illegible] report on the meeting of the republican council on the special situation will be published in the press.

20 Jan Incident Discussed

[illegible] Armenian Domestic Service in Armenian [illegible] GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] A meeting was held at the Presidium of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet chaired by Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium examined the incident which took place on 20 January in Yerevan city.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium categorically condemned the army operation which took place on 20 January in Yerevan city which was carried out without the agreement of the state authorities and the republican bodies and which resulted in casualties.

In view of the extremely tense situation which has been created in the republic, the issue of the illegal acquisition of arms should, first and foremost, be solved through persuasion and [words indistinct] steps among the militants by strictly adhering to law and order.

A [statement] was issued advising that the bodies of the prosecutor have opened criminal investigations. A commission consisting of deputies and people's representatives was formed. The commission was instructed to study the [word indistinct] incident and to report on their findings to the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

An [illegible] report on the meeting at the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet will be published [in the press].

Baku Radio Carries Announcements on Events

Situation Called Peaceful

AU131537/1990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Notice issued by Lieutenant General Dadayev, military commandant of Baku city, read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in the city remained peaceful overnight. The officials, who are enforcing public order, continue to collect and [word indistinct] weapons. A total of 96 individuals were detained for violating the curfew. A number of individuals continue to attempt to disrupt public order and call on the people to [strike]. The full force of the law will be used against these people. In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decree and with the declaration of the state of emergency in Baku, these individuals are being held under administrative detention. A total of [illegible] individuals are being held for 30 days under administrative detention. I urge the leading officials of all establishments and organizations to bring the rules of the [words indistinct] to the attention of their workers so ... again.

The main task of the entire population of Baku city at the present time is to ensure that the establishments in the city resume a normal working rhythm.

Comment ("peremen"). I urge you to send your children to school. They must attend their classes. The establishments for training and education are being protected by the individuals who enforce public order. [Signed] Lieutenant General Dadayev, military commandant of Baku city.

Interior Border Areas Described

AU131537/1990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Establishments in Baku, Lankaran, Cendzha, and a number of other cities are gradually resuming work while work in the transportation, trade, and public-service sectors is being stepped up. The people of Azerbaijan cities and towns support the further normalization of the situation and the removal of the prevailing conditions. Relations between the military, party, and soviet organs, and social representatives and local residents are being normalized and strengthened. Army General Tukhvatullin, commander in chief of the ground forces, met with workers of the Baku City Party Committee and representatives of the popular front. Agreement was reached on adopting joint measures to stabilize the situation.

Establishments, organizations, and preschool centers are not operating in Stepanakert. Classes have been suspended and public transport is at a standstill.

The situation in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic remains complicated. However, eight trains carrying fuel and other goods arrived in that republic via the northern Caucasus railways as a result of the measures that have been put into effect. The growing number of raids and robberies has added to the sense of unease among the people. The situation in the Armenian border region of Idzhevan(sk) and the Azerbaijani border region of Kazakh(sk) remains complicated.

The process of stabilizing the situation along the USSR-Iran state border is continuing. The movement of vehicles at the Astara pass has resumed.

The USSR Foreign Ministry has disclosed that the Soviet memorandum containing the proposals on concluding a bilateral agreement to simplify the rules for citizens who live in border regions and wish to cross the border to visit their relatives, or for special reasons, has been submitted to Iranian representatives and is being studied in Tehran. Preparations are under way for concluding work on the documents in the near future.

Commandant Bans 'Calmer' Situation

AU130539/1990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Notice by military commandant of Baku, dated 31 January--read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in the republic's capital continues to become calmer. According to a report by the Baku city soviet, 60 percent of the establishments and 80 percent of the transportation services were working today. A total of [illegible] buses [words indistinct]. Four [word indistinct] buses were allocated for the establishments. Meanwhile, the work carried out in the railway stations has also improved. (A large number of railway cars have been received. [passage indistinct]

The service establishments are also working. Lessons have been resumed in the schools.

Six individuals were detained for criminal offenses, 109 individuals for violating the curfew regime [and the state of emergency rules], and [words indistinct] for violating public order. The collection of arms is continuing. However, some persons are still refusing to report to work as

a number of establishments. This is having adverse effects on the economy of those establishments and the economy of the city. Some individuals are engaging in propaganda activities, objecting to the exemption of rent by the people.

According to the Azerbaijan State Statistics Committee, a total of $[illegible] million have been lost as a result of the strikes which took place from 10 to 29 January. The construction establishments lost [words indistinct]. Some establishments have resumed a 10-hour work schedule. This will create an opportunity to fulfill [illegible] targets of the first quarter's plan.

Comrade, regardless of my request, some people are not heeding the curfew hours. Workers and military servicemen in section 3 of the Baku refinery in [illegible] Bayan were fired at. Several servicemen were injured. An investigation has been launched into the incident. [passage omitted]

I wish to reiterate once again that the city residents should comply with the regime that has been established in the city. I also urge the leading officials of the establishments once again to [words indistinct].

I thank the groups of residents who have been helping the militia units to restore peace in the city.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dzhevadi, military commandant of Baku.

Lankaran's Bayan 'Normalizing'

WC [illegible]1700 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Live/Included announcement—read by announcer]

[Text] It has been reported that the situation is gradually normalizing in Lankaran rayon as well. Information received by telephone from Khanlar Shamsiev, first secretary of the Lankaran Bayan Party Committee, this morning indicates that work is being resumed in the industrial establishments, construction sites, and collective and state farms. The [word indistinct] establishment is working at full capacity.

Meanwhile, the overwintering of livestock is being managed in an organized way. The [word indistinct] campaign is about to end. The establishments are being supplied with sufficient amounts of fodder.

The round of curfew, which echoed in the rayon since 24 January, has ended. Transportation work is being organized. The highway-[illegible]-Lankaran motorway has been opened. Vehicles have begun to move, although intermittently. The freight for the rayon still continues to arrive from the Astaran railway station in Zangilan and Khanaliq. This is creating some difficulties. There are not enough vehicles. The supply of fuel is about to run out. Lessons have been resumed in the schools after an break of 3 days.

Political & Social

Attempt To Export $3 B 7?] Seeks Halted

LD2101151290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1023 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] As you already know, comrades, the bodies in charge of protecting law and order have halted an illegal attempt to export $3 B 7?] banknotes, together with their standard weapons. The interministerial state and cooperative concern, [illegible], was behind, was the chief player in the abortive operation.

A session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, held under Comrade Ryzhkov's chairmanship on 20 January, examined the circumstances connected with the complicity of a number of officials in this affair. The [illegible] concern was set up for purposes which are currently given absolute priority. It was planned, with its participation, to expand the opportunities of supplying consumer goods to the market.

The session noted that the [illegible] concern, which had been given a number of privileges concerning purchasing and selling of output and also the right to carry out foreign operations, embarked upon a path of illegal activities and cheating the state.

However, as life has shown, the concern embarked upon a path of illegal activities and cheating the state. Proof of this is the above-mentioned deal to sell the banknotes.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium pointed out that the illegal activities of the [illegible] which [illegible] violated the procedure established in the country for acquiring military property and raw materials in short supply for selling abroad, were made possible as a result of the fact that a number of officials of the USSR Ministry of Air Aviation Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, and the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry, showed an irresponsible attitude toward their direct official duties. Some of them placed their rights. Certain employees of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers failed to ensure control over [illegible]'s activities. Moreover, they demonstrated political short-sightedness, something that made it possible for the concern to embark upon a path of illegal activities.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium assessed the event as being unprecedented and as being in direct contradiction with the basic principles of the USSR's foreign economic policy. It noted that the guilty persons, irrespective of their official position, ought to be strictly brought to punishment. The [illegible] violations of the laws in force governing the export of arms and military equipment and for approving the [illegible]'s illegal nature, something that provided the foundation for the concern's illegal operations, Anatoliy Bratushkin, first deputy minister of the Aviation Industry, has been relieved from his post.

Regulation, the deputy minister of the aviation industry (Dergunt), general director of the Volga Scientific and Production Association of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, and Comrade [illegible], head of section of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers have been cleared from their posts. For the absence of due control in the field of foreign economic activities of the industry, [illegible] System, USSR minister of the aviation industry has been given a strict reprimand. Boris Belousov, USSR minister of the Defense Industry, and Vladimir Dmitriev, USSR minister of the Radio Industry, have also been reprimanded.

Other officials involved in the VVT's illegal activities have also been made answerable. Speaking during the summing up of the results of the examination of the case, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the illegal activities of the VVT concern and the illegal activities of officials who violated state discipline and legality damaged the country, the national economy and a number of labor collectives not only economically, but also morally and politically.

The appropriate state bodies have been instructed to carry out a variety of measures making it possible to block the ways of making use of foreign economic ties to the detriment of reasonable interests of improving the national economy and normalizing the consumer market.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has taken cognizance of the report by USSR Procurator General Sukharev, to the effect that the USSR Procuracy is engaged in meticulous investigation of the facts of the illegal activities of the VVT concern and of its lead organizations.

Skuporitsa on Estonian Supreme Soviet Session

*PM020187*98 Moscow [illegible] in Russian 30 Jan 98 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent Leonid Levitskiy dispatch under rubric "Direct Line": "Mayor Not Confirmed After All"]

[Text] Tallinn—Eleven questions were submitted for discussion at the 14th Estonian Supreme Soviet session. But hardly had the session begun when E. Pylkhovi, chairman of the "For Democratic Development" group, proposed that a 12th item be included on its agenda on threats by some political forces in northeast Estonia. To put it in plain terms, this proposal had the aim of condemning supporters of autonomy for cities with a predominantly Russian-speaking population. Protests by deputies from Kohtla-Yarve and Narva followed in response to this. The idea of autonomy, they objected, represents a protest against the republic's mass campaign for Estonian secession from the USSR.

E. Pylkhovi' proposal was adopted by a majority vote. The start to the session possibly determined the fate of the recently elected mayor of Kohtla-Yarve, V. Markov. The law on the basic principles of local self-management gave the republic's Supreme Soviet the right to confirm district elders and city mayors. In his opening speech the chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium stressed that it is very important what kind of people hold such responsible posts. There he said that a statement had been received from Kohtla-Yarve in which more than 10 people protested V. Markov's election as city mayor. Various reasons were given. V. Kravtsov said, for people are mostly concerned that the new mayor does not speak Estonian and he does part to create interesting him as a leader.

During the discussion of the candidates of one week elected leaders, V. Markov was the person asked the most questions.

"How do you feel about autonomy for the northeastern part of the republic? And what about nations' right to self-determination? Why was the northeast visited by a group of USSR people's deputies elected by Russian-speaking labor collectives—author's note? What kind of reception were they given by the population? Why did you take part in strike action?"

"I fully share the policies of the Estonian Communist Party and am not a supporter of extremes," V. Markov replied. "I do not agree with the idea of autonomy for the northeastern part of the republic. I fully recognize nations' right to self-determination. There were a lot of people at the meetings with the people's deputies. I could not have taken part in any strike action because I was on vacation. I am learning the Estonian language."

His answers failed to convince the majority of deputies. Then V. Markov added:

"I understand what has prompted these questions. Estonian radio and television have portrayed me as an activist in the International Movement. However, none of the correspondents has actually spoken to me."

The upshot was that 136 deputies—a majority—voted against Markov's confirmation as mayor.

Here is how one radio journalist commented on the result:

"Deputies did not vote against the man but against the political stance he takes. Kohtla-Yarve is a very important center in the republic. Too much depends on its leaders."

Late in the evening the [illegible]'s bureau was attended by V. Grivenko, a member of the presidium of the joint council of Kohtla-Yarve labor collectives.

"Yes, we supported V. Markov. But the chairman of the district duma supports the 'National Independence' Party, which denies the existence of the Estonian SSR, its constitution, and its government. This party is struggling for the conversion of a bourgeois Estonia. No one

[illegible] seems normal to me. I am not, either incidentally. If that is what the voters want. But on the other hand, the latter collectives' support for Vlasov is being achieved."

There was tension during the ratification of Article 4 and 7 of the Estonian SSR Constitution. A total of 187 deputies voted in favor of changing them, 31 voted against, and 24 abstained. They were two votes short of the number needed to approve an amendment. Then the conflict began. Five-six hours went and the hall was not able to register. Then they started finding fault with the electronic equipment's calculations and A. Rüütel suggested that they vote openly by show of hands. Objections were raised. The vote must be by secret ballot. The squabbling was heard on the radio across the republic....

People were so too tested after the event. A compromise decision was adopted by a majority vote to return the draft law to the Commission for Legislative Proposals.

Estonian Businessmen Plan Conference 2 Mar

[Editorial report] Tallinn VOZROZHDENIYE in Estonian 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Summary] On 29 January Estonian private businessmen gathered in Tallinn for their first conference. One of its aims was to lodge a complaint against the new USSR taxation regulation, which has also been endorsed by the Estonian Government.

Tiit Made, president of the Association of Estonian Private Businessmen and Cooperative Unions, put forward the idea of setting up a party which would encourage private businesses. Only three people voted against the idea when it was put to vote.

Tiit Made says that it is planned to convene the party's constituent congress on 2 March. Anybody is welcome to join the party, regardless if they run a business or not. Made says that he envisages cooperation with all the other political forces in the center and to the right of it. So far the party does not have a name. Made says that it may become ESE, which would stand for the Party of Estonian Entrepreneurs.

Baltkom Bigs Meetings Reported

[Editorial report] Moscow PRAVITEL'STVO in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Seeking Paths of Consolidation"]

[Text] Riga, 26 Jan—The keen political debate that began at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum is not over. On the contrary, it is gaining momentum, encompassing not only communists but also most of the republic's inhabitants. The meetings between O.Ā. Dubinskis, CPSU Central Committee secretary, who took part in the plenum's work, and the party aktiv, workers, scientists, troops, and artists persuaded us of this. They were held in the republic's capital 23 through 25 January.

During a conversation that lasted many hours at the Riga City Party Committee, communists voiced particularly clear concern that the plenum had not given a sufficiently principled assessment of the activity of those forces which have not given up the idea of splitting the party ranks. Communists see this as the main deception in the work of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and secretariat.

Inconsistency and the lack of an active stance on the most acute problems in the life of the republic party organization are coming in for fair and crushing criticism of political initiative. From these positions criticism was also leveled at the CPSU Central Committee during the meeting.

Acknowledging the great benefit of frank discussion, O.Ā. Dubinskis stressed that a flexible and well-considered approach, along with the course of consolidation rather than confrontation within all the republic's prorepublic forces, are particularly necessary in the pre-voting situation. It is necessary to meet one another halfway and seek reasonable compromises without giving up one's convictions and one's party conscience, he said.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary recalled the responsibility with which M.S. Gorbachev approached the set of similar problems in neighboring Lithuania. The impending CPSU Central Committee and the discussion of the party's political platform for the upcoming 28th Congress should provide answers to many burning questions relating to party life and the development of our federation.

At the same time, O.Ā. Dubinskis said, people in the localities must not expect some "definitive truth" from the center. This truth must be born in those areas where the party can rally people around it.

This is a belief shared by the 2,000-plus Communists at Riga's "VEF" association. The creators of modern electronics are operating under difficult conditions. Economic reform is carrying its way slowly, with difficulty, cooperation ties have become embattled, and the level of discipline is falling. Workers believe that there is no need to expend so much energy on emotions and disputes when society lacks a great deal. People are concerned that the pace of construction of housing and children's establishments has slowed down and talk with alarm about inflation and the economic upturn is a part of the cooperative sector.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary paid a great deal of attention to questions of improving the social sphere. He examined in detail the possibilities of developing construction by the own-resources method.

There he had a meeting with a group of officers from the Baltic Military District. The participants in the meeting said that the complexity and disparate nature of the political processes in the region are creating additional

difficulties in every sphere, which is hard enough as it is. Words is deteriorating and daily living problems are mounting.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that the party and the people are not losing sight of the problems of the Armed Forces. He urged them to strengthen unity within the Army and society, which is so necessary now in order to successfully build a democratic multiethnic federation.

G.D. Baklanov was accompanied by Yu.Yu. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lithuanian Commission on Independence Meets

LD2011213090 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The parliamentary commission to work out the formula for the restoration of Lithuanian independence has met for a session. The issues discussed included the state management system and economic decisions as one of the most important premises for restoring independence. Theoretical and practical aspects of the notion Lithuania's independence.

The Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vytautas Landsbergis, spoke of Lithuania's ties with the Soviet republics and foreign countries and of ethnic relations in Lithuania. Vytautas Landsbergis is one of the five persons who make up the board of the chairmen of the parliamentary commission.

A working group to set the guidelines for the commission to work out the formula for the restoration of Lithuanian independence was established. It was decided to put scientists and economists on the commission.

Official on Nominations for Belorussian Elections

PM2011134390 Moscow [illegible] in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with I. Libkach, secretary of Belorussian Central Electoral Commission, by own correspondent M. Shimanskiy: "Belorussia 'Nomination of Candidates Over'"—date, place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The nomination of candidate people's deputies for the republic and local soviets has ended in Belorussia. Here is what I. Libkach, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] People's Deputies, said in connection with your [illegible] correspondent.

[Shimanskiy] The nomination of candidates has ended in all 310 electoral okrugs. What was it like?

[Libkach] Almost every labor collective examined between five and eight prospective Belorussian SSR people's deputies per seat. The "Krasnyy Oktyabr" plant in Orsha even had 13 nominations. The winner was Yu. Nagornyy, chairman of the Baran City Soviet Executive Committee.

In the Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No 1 in Minsk there were 12 nominations for a single seat in Belorussian SSR people's deputy, in the Minskiy rayonnyy okrug No. 27 there were 14 nominations, and in the Gomelskiy gradskoy okrug No. 197 there were 11 candidates. In all the commission registered 1,530 candidate Belorussian SSR People's Deputies in the 310 okrugs. In 310 okrugs there were never more candidates. But those aren't the final figures. I am talking merely about the candidates whose documents were submitted.

Unfortunately the level of voters' activeness at meetings in local neighborhoods is very low.

The distinguishing feature of the present election campaign in Belorussia is the more active use of the rights of the newly created social organizations. Here I mean the social organizations which newly nominate Belorussian SSR candidate people's deputies and will vote for them in the electoral okrugs on 4 March. The Belorussian Language Society, the Belorussian Ecological Union, and the Union of Cooperatives were particularly active.

[Shimanskiy] What about the Belorussian People's Front [BPF]?

[Libkach] The BPF is not registered as a social organization in the republic. But several of its representatives have been nominated as Belorussian SSR people's deputies, including BPF leaders Z. Poznyak and Yu. Khashchev.

[Shimanskiy] Ivan Vasilyevich, the republic and local soviet elections in Belorussia are unlike those elections in other republics—several social organizations have been given the right to directly elect their deputies to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet. How did nomination take place in those organizations?

[Libkach] In addition to the 310 okrug seats, 50 seats have been allocated to social organizations: 20 to the republican Council of War and Labor Veterans and 7 each for the Belorussian societies for the disabled, the blind, and the deaf. Well, this is the group of the population with the least social protection. The electoral commissions have registered over 70 candidates for all 4 organizations.

[Shimanskiy] People frequently telephone the [illegible]'s bureau in Minsk to ask whether it is true that leaders who do not enjoy popularity among the people can get into the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet via the republican veterans' organization. Isn't this a loophole for party functionaries? Who has been nominated here?

[Libkach] Only war and labor veterans, people well known and respected in the republic. They include

veterans still working in industry and agriculture to this day. Only members of these four organizations have been nominated.

[Slutskaya:] What shortcomings do you think there were in the nomination of candidates?

[Lifanov:] Insufficient representation of women and young people. There were just 113 workers from industrial enterprises and organizations, 9 state farm workers, and 96 collective farm [kolkhoz] members. But of these 96, 80 were kolkhoz chairmen.

[Slutskaya:] To be blunt, hope [illegible], these figures make depressing reading. How do you explain this situation?

[Lifanov:] As a rule, the nominees are those who have already earned a good reputation. For example, the kolkhoz chairmen I mentioned. But the Soviets are the largest organization of working people where a person can prove his worth. That is it is necessary to nominate more ordinary workers as candidate deputies, then the interests of all sections of society will be more broadly represented in the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Belorussian Party Election Platform Drawn

MK190720 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 p 1

[Decree [not I]: Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 10th Plenum in Minsk: "Belorussian Communist Party Platform for Elections of People's Deputies of Belorussian SSR and Local Soviets of Republic"—date not given]

[Text] To approve the platform of the Belorussian Communist Party for the elections of people's deputies of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and to local soviets of the republic. To publish it in republic and oblast newspapers.

The Bureau of the Central Committee and the oblast, [oblast party committee], gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [raion party committees] of the Belorussian Communist Party and the primary party organizations to engage in the extensive explanation of the propositions of the election platform of the Belorussian Communist Party among the electorate in the work force and at the population's place of residence. To consider essential the participation in this work of members and candidates of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and members of the republic Communist Party Auditing Commission and election bodies of the oblast, city, and raion party organizations, and communists working in the soviets, the unions, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and veterans' and other public formations.

To put the emphasis in organizing and mass-political work on direct, live contacts with people and the consideration of all forces adhering to the standpoints of perestroyka. To reveal the CPSU's vanguard role in society and the measures adopted by the party pertaining to a recovery in the socioeconomic and political situation in the country and the significance of the coming elections for the continued progress of perestroyka and the establishment of the genuine power of the people. To operate in the course of the election campaign actively and aggressively and to seize the political initiative. To emphatically expose the arrogant aspirations of extremist elements and their attempts to discredit the party and detach it from the people. To strive to ensure that deputies capable of working in the new way be elected to the soviets.

To concentrate the attention of the party committees and organizations on the solution of acute problems connected with a strengthening of discipline and order on the job, the supply of food to the population, the fulfillment of the plans for the manufacture of consumer goods and the construction of housing and other social facilities, the improvement of medical, trade, and consumer services, a recovery of the ecological situation, and the fight against crime and mismanagement.

The communist leaders of editorial offices of newspapers, television and radio broadcasting to objectively analyze all stages of the election struggle and express public opinion more fully. Clearly and colorfully describe the candidates for deputy who by practical deeds, ideological conviction, and devotion to a socialism asserting the humane goals of perestroyka have won authority among the working people. Comprehensively cover the progressive experience of the party committees and organizations and the work force.

To instruct the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee commissions on organizational-party and cadre work, ideology and socioeconomic and agrarian issues to collate the proposals expressed in the course of discussion of the draft platform of the Belorussian Communist Party for the elections of people's deputies of the Belorussian SSR and the local soviets of the republic and to take them into consideration in practical work.

Text of Election Platform

MK190720 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 pp 1-2

["Text" of election platform for elections of people's deputies of Belorussian SSR and local soviets of republic adopted by Belorussian Communist Party in Minsk; date not given]

[Text]

I. Basic Aims and Directions of Belorussian Communist Party Policy for Extending Perestroyka

The Belorussian Communist Party organizes its activity on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the intellectual and moral potential of the idea of building a humane, free, and democratic society. It is

devoted to socialist ideals, emphatically rejects all that has distorted and deformed socialism, and pursues a policy of the profound renewal of society, together with and proceeding from the interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all strata of the population and the representatives of all nations and nationalities which live in the republic.

The Belorussian Communist Party puts at the center of its activity the task of realizing the ideas of perestroika and the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress. It pays primary attention to concern for man and his material well-being and spiritual and moral development. It strives perseveringly for an improvement in the life of the population of the republic based on the social orientation of the economy, transition to self-management and self-financing, and the increased efficiency of the national economy. The Communist Party concentrates particular attention on the undeviating and consistent fulfillment of the State Program for the Elimination in the Republic of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station].

The Belorussian Communist Party is for the real sovereignty of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] in a single Soviet federation is renewed. It advocates the new status of the union republic Communist Party within a renewed CPSU, the strengthening of its independence and the right to decide organizational-structural, cadre, financial, and other questions within the limits of the CPSU Program and Rules. It actively supports the processes of national revival and the principles of the mutual respect and free development of the peoples, combats manifestations of nationalism and separatism and other antisocial currents, and participates in the formulation and realization of the strategy and tactics of the CPSU.

The Belorussian Communist Party seeks the extensive democratization of party life, the development of the independence and initiative of the primary party organizations and the creative assertiveness and high responsibility of the communists and ensures the collective nature of leadership and glasnost and openness in work. It confirms its unifying and vanguard role by the formulation and implementation of a policy line corresponding to the people's interests and specific action pertaining to the renewal of the socialist society.

The Belorussian Communist Party consistently and persistently exercises activity in the name of realization of the Leninist peace-loving foreign policy course in the spirit of the new thinking.

The Belorussian Communist Party pursues its political course by practical work in the masses, operating within the framework of the Belorussian SSR Constitution (Basic Law) via the party committees, primary party organizations, and the communists working in the soviets of people's deputies, economic bodies, public organizations, and labor outfits.

2. The Party Is One of the Renewal of Socialism and National Revival

The Belorussian Communist Party completely supports the policy adopted by the CPSU for the spiritual renewal of society and sets as its activity the following basic tasks:

—The full extension, creative development, and practical embodiment of Lenin's concept of socialism;

—A scientific analysis of the historical past of our republic and the Belorussian Communist Party and the rejection of all attempts at the falsification and one-sided interpretation of events and facts of the past and disparagement of the world-historical role of the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialist gains and their significance for the fate of the Belorussian people and the creation on this basis of textbooks and other literature pertaining to the history of the Belorussian SSR and the Belorussian Communist Party; and

—Man's spiritual and moral enrichment, the shaping of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy and high moral attributes, the establishment of a concerned attitude toward labor, professionalism, competence, discipline and responsibility, and internationalist and patriotic qualities, and perpetuation of the memory of those who fell in the struggle against fascism and while performing their international duty and of the victims of Stalin's repression.

The Belorussian Communist Party will persistently implement Lenin's principles of patriotism and internationalism, the friendship of the peoples and the unity of the Soviet federation and study firmly the CPSU platform on nationality policy under current conditions.

In the sphere of public education and development of the national school the Belorussian Communist Party channels its activity toward the accomplishment of the following priority tasks:

—Fulfillment of legislative enactments pertaining to national education;

—Enhancement of the social status and prestige of public education and elevation of the authority of the teacher, democratization of the school, and the humanization and differentiation of tuition and education, full satisfaction of educational and national-cultural requirements and creation of the conditions for the aesthetic education of trainees and students; a strengthening of the role and responsibility of the family, the work force, and the community in the spiritual and moral education of the younger generation; satisfaction of the population's preschool establishment requirements by 1995;

—A significant increase in the proportion of expenditure on public education in the republic's national income, the attraction for this purpose of resources of labor outfits, organizations, and departments, and the

raising of the teaching and educational facilities of public education to a modern level.

In the national-cultural sphere the Belorussian Communist Party deems essential:

—The elaboration of a concept of the development of national culture and art and the exclusion of manifestations of bureaucratic rule in the sphere of artistic creativity;

—The adoption of the "Spadchyna" republic program for the preservation and development of the Belorussian historical and cultural heritage and the cultures of representatives of other nationalities which live on the territory of the Belorussian SSR, the complete equality in status of inhabitants of Belorussia at the time of satisfaction of national-cultural requests, and a struggle against the penetration of culture and art of alien and morally alien to socialism;

—A restructuring of the mechanism of administration of the sphere of culture, a considerable increase in appropriations for needs thereof and a strengthening of the material base for the organization of people's leisure time, and work on the restoration of historical monuments;

—The utmost support for the activity of the artistic unions and other organizations contributing to the introduction of the people to the cultural heritage;

—An increase in the quality of the training of artistic intelligentsia personnel and an improvement in the conditions of their activity and an expansion of the network of artistic unions, art workshops, hostels, and apartment houses for the artistic youth;

—An extension of cultural cooperation with other republics and foreign countries, the extensive familiarization of the population with the world cultural heritage, a strengthening of ties to compatriots living abroad, and the opening of Belorussian cultural centers in the fraternal republics and foreign countries;

—Unconditional observance of Leninist principles in respect of religion and its organizations and support for their philanthropic and peacemaking activity.

In the sphere of language policy the Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—The imparting to Belorussian of the status of official language, given full guarantees of the right to use Russian—the language of interethnic communication of the peoples of the USSR—and the free and equal development of the other national languages of the population of the republic, and the elaboration and adoption of an official program for the development of Belorussian and other national languages in the Belorussian SSR;

—The utmost support for the activity of the F. Skorina "Belorussian Language Society" and other cultural and educational societies which have set as their goal propaganda of Belorussian and the languages of people of other nationalities living on the territory of Belorussia.

In work with the mass media the Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—The constructive, democratic, and concerned cooperation of the party committees and the editorial outfits in the consolidation of all healthy forces of society on the path of renewal, the development of the creative assertiveness of journalist personnel, the creation in the editorial outfits of an atmosphere of scrupulousness and an enhancement of journalists' personal responsibility for the veracity and authenticity of the publications;

—Consistent prompt notification of the population of the activity of the party and state authorities via the press, radio and television, party committee and ministry and department press corps and regular meetings and speeches of members of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the government and of other senior officials in labor outfits and the republic press center;

—The strengthening of the economic, printing, and engineering facilities of the newspapers, publishing houses, radio and television.

3. Economic Policy Under the Conditions of Self-Management and Self-Financing

The Belorussian Communist Party deems it essential on the basis of the principles of self-management and self-financing and transition to economic methods of management to ensure the sovereignty of the soviets in the solution of all questions of socioeconomic development.

The Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—A diversity of forms of ownership excluding the exploitation of human labor;

—The utmost strengthening of the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] as the main producers of agricultural produce for the people;

—The building of mutual economic relations of the labor outfits and the management authorities on a strictly legal basis;

—The enactment of laws on local self-management and the local economy, on the socialist enterprise, on property, on land, on leasing and leasing relations, and on a uniform tax system;

—A refinement of the structure of and an improvement in social production, an enhancement of the technical level and quality of output, a lowering of its material and energy consumption on the basis of S&T progress, and a strengthening of labor and production engineering discipline;

—The achievement in the 13th Five-Year Plan of an increase in generated national income of no less than 25 percent and a relative significance of resources for consumption and construction for purposes other than production of not less than 85 percent;

—The intensive development and efficient use of the republic's scientific potential, an increase in appropriations and material resources for its needs, a strengthening of testing and experimental facilities, and the orientation of basic and applied research toward the accelerated development of the national economic complex;

—The priority development of agricultural production and the processing sectors of the agroindustrial complex and light industry, their retooling and upgrading and the creation of new capacity for the production of consumer goods and their manufacture at nonspecialized enterprises in a volume not less than the wage fund, and an acceleration of the conversion of defense enterprises;

—The increased efficiency of the work of all types of transport, an increase in the volume of services in the 13th Five-Year Plan by a factor of no less than 1.5, including a twofold increase in rural services;

—The efficient use of capital investments, a change in investment policy, an increase in the production of construction materials and construction industry facilities as an essential condition of the assured development of all sectors of the economy, and the solution of housing and other social problems, satisfaction by 1995 of the republic's needs in the basic types of construction materials;

—The comprehensive development of the productive forces and their rational location on the territory of the republic with regard for local conditions, the existence of production potential and natural and labor resources and the ecological situation, the limitation of construction and expansion of energy- and metal-consuming industries;

—The creation of a flexible system of taxes, prices, and wage rates, and other economic levers geared to an increase in production efficiency and the working people's interest in the results of their labor;

—A broadening of the sphere of the activity of the consumer cooperative society and its enhanced role in providing the population of rural localities with foodstuffs and industrial commodities and an improvement in procurement activity and the organization of the processing of agricultural produce locally;

—The development of the cooperatives working under conditions equal to those of the state enterprises, particularly those specializing in the production of consumer goods and the rendering of services at prices close to state prices, and the curtailment of profiteering and obtaining unearned income;

—The expansion of foreign economic relations, an improvement in the structure of exported and imported products, the creation of a mutually profitable basis of joint ventures and international associations and organizations contributing to an enhancement of the republic's S&T potential, and an increase in the manufacture of high-grade consumer goods.

4. Social Policy

The Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—The consistent implementation of measures geared to a growth in the population's real income, an increase in payments from the social consumption funds and an improvement in the system of their distribution, the elimination of unlawful benefits, an improvement in the social support for pensioners, invalids, large families, and other groups of the population with a low income level, the solution, as a priority, of the urgent problems of war veterans and soldier-internationalists and the creation on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of homes for single elderly citizens and social service centers;

—The acceleration of a solution of the food problem based on the transformation of economic relations in the countryside, the development of financial autonomy, leasing, and other effective forms of management, a strengthening of the material-technical facilities of the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and enterprises of the agroindustrial complex and the extensive use of progressive techniques and the achievements of science, technology, and progressive experience. The development of the specialization and concentration of production, interfarm cooperation, and agroindustrial integration. An appreciable expansion of the facilities for the processing and storage of produce and the construction of small processing enterprises and shops in the places where it is produced. The creation of propitious conditions for rural inhabitants for operating personal subsidiary plots. The rendering of individual peasant farms and members of horticultural and truck garden partnerships of all-around support;

—Satisfaction of the population's need for basic foodstuffs, the raising of the per capita consumption of meat products of the republic to 83 kg, and of dairy products, to 450 kg, by 1995, a significant increase in the level of consumption of vegetables and fruit and products of their processing, and the speediest saturation of the market with children's foods, the establishment of uniform prices for most products sold in the cities and rural localities;

—The stabilization of the situation on the consumer market, removal of the scarcity of basic necessities and services, an improvement in the quality of the consumer product, the balancing of the growth of the population's monetary income with the growth of the manufacture of commodity supplies, and prevention of the disappearance of the inexpensive selection of products. An increase in 1990 in the manufacture of

consumer goods compared with last year's plan of no less than 10 percent and in the volume of chargeable services of no less than 17 percent, and in the 13th Five-Year Plan, a normalization of the trade in consumer goods as a whole;

—The mobilization of additional resources for the accelerated solution of the housing problem and an increase by a factor of 1.3-1.5 in the introduction of housing in the 13th Five-Year Plan compared with the current five-year plan; satisfaction of the rural population's need for housing by 1995;

—A considerable increase in the pace of and an improvement in the quality of the construction, repair, and maintenance of highways, and the completion by 1995 of the provision with amenities of all rural localities with 20 or more homes;

—An acceleration of the pace of the social rearrangement of the countryside, an improvement in the work and everyday conditions of rural workers, the extensive supply of gas, heating, and power to rural housing and production processes, and the elaboration in each sphere of a comprehensive program of the development of small localities;

—Realization of the comprehensive "health" program, an appreciable increase in the quality of health care, a strengthening of the disease-prevention thrust of medical services, and provision of the population with medicines, disposable syringes, and other medical instruments. An increase by a factor of 1.8 in the 13th Five-Year Plan compared with the current five-year plan in the commissioning of hospitals and the creation on the central grounds of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz of a district hospital or paramedic-obstetric center medical-outpatient clinic. The channeling with the consent of the work force of enterprise and organization currency resources into the acquisition of diagnostic apparatus and other medical equipment and also medicines;

—The construction in each oblast of special housing and production complexes for invalids with serious complications of the locomotor system and other illnesses and the accelerated development and a rise in the level of social service for single disabled citizens in the home;

—An increase in the amount of annual leave for all categories of working people to 24 work days and paid leave for mothers for childcare, with preservation of continuous service, and an improvement in work and everyday conditions for women.

9. Ecological Policy

Attaching exceptional significance to the solution of ecological problems in the interests of the present and future generations, the Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—The improvement and unswerving observance of ecological legislation in the republic;

—Unconditional fulfillment of the State Program for Elimination in the Republic of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES and the organization of constant information on the work being performed and the radiation situation in the places of people's residence and activity;

—The termination in the 13th Five-Year Plan of the discharge of unpurified industrial waters into surface water-storage areas, exclusion of the use of drinking water for industrial needs; a reduction in the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere to levels not exceeding the permissible maximum; the gradual transition to ecologically clean techniques;

—The commissioning of an economic mechanism providing for the establishment of a fee for the use of natural resources and the pollution of the environment and the stimulation on this basis of assertive nature-conservation activity;

—The adoption by union and republic ministries and departments, the leaders of enterprises and associations and farms and the ispolkoms [executive committees] of local soviets of people's deputies of specific measures for a further recovery of the ecological situation in the cities of Mogilev, Gomel, Minsk, Novopolotsk, Bobruysk, Soligorsk, Svetlogorsk, Krichev, and Volkovysk and in the zone of Lake Naroch and other localities;

—Ecologically safe agricultural production, the rational use of local resources, comprehensive afforestation, and the expansion of the nature-conservation zones and sanctuaries;

—The extensive and public discussion and independent ecological expert appraisal of programs and plans of the construction of large-scale production facilities affecting the population's fundamental interests;

—The intensive development of ecological science and the creation of an effective system of the universal ecological elementary education of the population and the training and retraining of personnel;

—Public and qualified supervision of the ecological situation and the quality of agricultural produce and objective information on the actual state of the natural environment;

—The utmost support for the public organizations and all citizens presenting constructive proposals pertaining to the protection and recovery of the environment and a strengthening of their interaction with the official nature-conservation bodies;

—The expansion of cooperation with foreign countries and international organizations on questions of an improvement in the use of nature, elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES,

and the solution of other ecological problems and unswerving fulfillment of the republic's commitments in respect to international agreements in the sphere of environmental protection.

6. Legal Policy

The Belorussian Communist Party considers it its duty to multiply its contribution to the creation of the socialist law-based state guaranteeing the achievement of democratic socialism with its principles of power of the people, humanism, and social justice, regarding as a most important task the elaboration of a new Belorussian SSR Constitution.

The Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—The democratization of public life via the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies and the formation of organs of state power and administration with the precise delineation of legislative, executive, and judicial functions;

—The supremacy of the law in all spheres of state and public life and observance of the principle of the responsibility not only of the citizen to the state but also of the state to the citizen;

—The full equality of everyone before the law, regardless of origins, social and property position, racial and national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances;

—Affirmation of the principles of inviolability of the person, actual realization of the political, economic, and social rights and liberties of the citizens of the republic and the creation of the legal mechanism of their protection by Belorussian SSR laws;

—An increase in the authority of the court and its independence and subordination only to the law and a strengthening of the role of the legal profession and arbitration in the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and organizations;

—The creation of an effective system of the legal education and universal legal elementary education of the population, a rise in the level of the legal knowledge of executive personnel, and a strengthening of the role of lawyers in the national economy and in the activity of the organs of state power and administration.

The Belorussian Communist Party supports in every possible way the demand of broad strata of the populace for a strengthening of organization and order, discipline and responsibility. It considers it necessary to resolutely step up the fight against crime and adopt a number of immediate measures in this area:
—To draw up a republic crime-fighting program;
—To implement organizational measures for a strengthening of the material-technical facilities of the law enforcement authorities and their personnel and an increase in professionalism in work and to legislatively provide for an increase in the social and legal protection of officials of the court, the procuracy authorities, and the police.

The Belorussian Communist Party will make active use of its right of legislative initiative to formulate proposals pertaining to the democratic regulation of most important social processes, including those concerning problems of the relations of party and state, the state and the individual, and human rights, and pertaining to the alignment of republic legislation with instruments in international law to which the Belorussian SSR subscribes.

7. Interaction With Public Organizations

The Belorussian Communist Party conducts a constructive dialogue with all public organizations, movements, and groups advocating the renewal of society on a socialist basis and consolidates all healthy forces for the accomplishment of the tasks of the republic's political, spiritual, and socioeconomic development. At the same time it decisively condemns and rejects all actions aimed at undermining and compromising the socialist system, disrupting stability and order in society, and discrediting the USSR Armed Forces.

The Belorussian Communist Party declares its interest in strong, authoritative, and active trade unions capable of ensuring in conjunction with management the creation of the necessary conditions for the safe and highly productive labor, training, and recreation of the working people and upholding the rights and legitimate interests of union members.

The Belorussian Communist Party deems essential the implementation of an integral and effective official policy in respect to the youth. It regards the republic Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] as an independent social and political organization cleaving to a common political platform with the Belorussian Communist Party and builds its relations with it on the principles of political trust, camaraderie, respect, mutual responsibility, and assertive interaction in the accomplishment of the tasks of perestroyka, rejecting all attempts to isolate the Komsomol and the youth from the party and to counterpose the generations.

The Belorussian Communist Party advocates:

—A legislative solution of the question concerning the public organizations and amateur citizens' associations guaranteeing their rights and responsibility to the people and the state;

—The elaboration of an effective mechanism of realization by the republic's young citizens of their constitutional rights, the enactment of a Belorussian SSR youth law and the creation in the new Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of a youth policy commission, and in the republic government, of a youth affairs department;

—The solution of the material and social and everyday questions of the trainees and students, an expansion of the construction of accommodation for the youth, an improvement in the conditions for work, recreation, and engineering and artistic creativity pursuits, physical culture and sport, and dependable support for young talents.

8. Democratization and Restructuring of Party Life

The Belorussian Communist Party is emphatically opposed to the federalization of the CPSU and the division of communists along national or social lines and supports the ideological and organizational cohesion of the party ranks and the democratization of cadre policy. The main criteria of an evaluation of the personnel should be ideological-political and moral maturity, devotion to the cause of socialism, competence, and an ability to work with people and organize them for specific work. It develops scrupulous constructive criticism and self-criticism and strives to master political methods of work and the unconditional fulfillment of party decisions.

For the successful accomplishment of the tasks of socialist renewal with regard for the national-historical, political, social, cultural, and economic singularities of the republic's development and the strengthening of its sovereignty the Belorussian Communist Party should have its own action program.

The Belorussian Communist Party:

—Revives the Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism: Freedom of debate at the stage of discussion of questions and unity of action following the adoption of majority decisions, its increased democratic essence by way of the exercise of control from below, the impermissibility of the persecution of those who express a different opinion, and consideration and defense of the viewpoint of the minority, if it is not at variance with the requirements of the CPSU Program and Rules;

—Democratizes the formation of all party elective bodies and ensures openness and glasnost in their work, regular accountability to the communists and the population, and the right of recall from any executive party body of persons who have not given a good account of themselves in practice and also those who have compromised themselves;

—Ensures the effective influence of the communists on the selection of party cadres and the formation of the elective bodies and their direct participation in the electoral process at all levels—from the party group through the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee;

—Supports the formulation of new CPSU Rules reflecting the modern level of development of the party and its place and role in Soviet society under the conditions of perestroyka;

—Embodies in practice the demands of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to the effect that in the party no one body and no one communist may be beyond criticism and beyond supervision and conducts a consistent struggle against bureaucracy in all its manifestations;

—Advocates the creation of a uniform system of state and public control;

—Is emphatically ridding itself of degenerates and double-dealers and all who have betrayed the ideological principles of the CPSU and who are undermining party authority;

—Enhances the personal responsibility of the communists working in the soviets of people's deputies, state and economic bodies, and public organizations for the practical implementation of the policy of perestroyka;

—Restructures the activity of all components of the republic party organization, brings the functions and structure of the party apparatus into line with the new conditions, strengthens ties to the working people, and systematically studies and considers public opinion when elaborating and adopting fundamentally important decisions.

Yelchenko on Nationalities Relations in Ukraine

LD2901183390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0944 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev, 29 Jan—TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya reports:

An association of national cultural societies of peoples living on the republic's territory is to be formed in the Ukraine, according to Yuriy Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, head of the Central Committee's commission on questions of relations among nationalities, speaking at a meeting with representatives of national cultural societies.

"Representatives of more than 100 nationalities live in the Ukraine," he noted. "The 37,400,000 Ukrainians and 11,300,000 Russians make up an absolute majority. Among the most numerous nationalities are also Jews, Belorussians, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Crimean Tatars, Greeks, and Germans. The main thing, therefore, is to do everything possible to meet the national cultural needs of all the national groups. During the 6 months since such a meeting was held, republican national cultural societies have been founded for Greeks, Jews, and Soviet Germans, as well as sections of these in a number of oblasts and cities. A paper in the Crimean Tatar language has begun to be published in the Crimea and in Mariupol there is a radio broadcast in Greek. A Hungarology center has been established in Transcarpathia. New textbooks are being published in national languages and in almost 200 schools teaching is conducted in Moldavian, Hungarian, and Polish."

Representatives of the national societies who spoke at the meeting noted that in their activities they had encountered constant support and assistance on the part of the Ukraine Central Committee Communist Party, the republic's government and local state bodies.

The participants in the meeting spoke with deep anxiety about the tragic events in Armenia and Azerbaijan, unanimously condemned the forces that had kindled this conflagration and expressed support for the measures being taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to normalize the situation in Transcaucasia.

Chernobyl News Conference on Power Station Future

PM010212Z90 Moscow LITERATURA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent V. Zaykin report on news conference at Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station: "To Be or Not To Be for Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station"—date not stated]

[Text] Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station—A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists was held in the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station conference hall. Representatives of the nuclear power station's administration and the Atomic Energy Institute of the State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry tried to clarify as fully as possible the present situation at the power station.

Three power units are now operational. The first and third operate at their rated capacity, while the second operates at 50-percent capacity because of hitches that arose. On 28 January the power unit was shut down for 40 days of maintenance work.

The situation today is that a real threat of closure hangs over the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station. The public, in whose eyes the power station is a symbol of radiation danger, calls for its closure. USSR Supreme Soviet deputies also advocate the closure. The aim of the news conference was therefore first and foremost to explain the safety measures in the operation of the atomic facility which have been implemented since the disaster.

If you are not a specialist it is difficult to grasp the specific features of the work done; merely listing the work would take some time. A system has already been introduced for monitoring the condition of the metal; then there is a fundamentally new system that prevents the operator from interfering arbitrarily with the reactor shield [zashchita], which rules out the possibility of so-called "human error." But the main argument, in my view, was this: Whereas formerly during "irregular situations" the operator was under instructions to keep the reactor operating, now the directive is entirely the opposite—the reactor should be shut down. From now on the safety of the nuclear power industry comes first, and the plan comes second.

Is a chain reaction possible in the fourth power unit, or rather, in what is left of it? The specialists from the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute reply unequivocally: It is impossible. More than 70 holes have been drilled within the "sarcophagus." Instruments do not record a process of neutron breeding. But the specialists also shared their concern. During the accident nuclear fuel fused with metal, stone, and sand. Dust containing plutonium particles is now a serious danger. Its spread should be prevented by a dust suppression device operating inside the "sarcophagus."

Radiation directly above the damaged reactor today stands at 800 roentgens an hour. In various parts of the "sarcophagus" it varies from 200 roentgens an hour to only a few milliroentgens an hour, while in the premises that are in operation it is up to 8 milliroentgens an hour. The average dose (per person) for the station's personnel in 1989 was 1.23 roentgens over the year, where the permitted norm is 5 roentgens a year. More than 5,000 people are involved in operating the station. They all undergo psychophysiological examination every year. The station is under the protection of soldiers from the internal troops who are doing their compulsory service. Some 20 percent of personnel are young specialists who came here mainly in 1987. Today they hold key posts at the middle management level at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station.

These, in short, are the arguments "for" the station. The station's administration and the nuclear specialists have, of course, many more arguments. But it is for the public to decide how weighty they are. The organizers of the news conference call on people to decide the question: "The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station—to be or not to be?"—with a cool head, not relying solely on emotion, but heeding the voice of reason.

V. Ivashko Party Head Visits Industrial Village

90UM0732A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Dec 89 p 1

[BATAG report: "Meetings in Industrial Outline"]

[Text] On 29 December V. A. Ivashko, people's deputy of the USSR, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, visited assembly shop No 19 and machine-assembly shop No 20 of the Kiev "Bolshevik" Plant and the "Kvadrat" Garment Industrial Association. He had comprehensive talks with the workers on a broad range of issues concerning the decisions of the recent Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the special CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

V.A. Ivashko described in detail the discussion in the congress, particularly in respect of the government's economic program. The keen arguments over it, he observed, are natural. After all, the measures proposed by the USSR Council of Ministers pertaining to economic recovery concern most directly each Soviet individual and his living conditions and well-being.

I personally voted for the government program, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee said. And not because the overwhelming majority was for it. I am convinced that it is possible to emerge from the economic crisis, sharply increase the production of the commodities which people so much need and raise their quality only through the intelligent continuation of the development of the market and planning. I am impressed also by methods of achieving the set goals proposed by the USSR Council of Ministers. They are distinguished by democratism, an orientation toward the economic independence of the republics and transition from a strictly centralized, state-run economy to diverse forms of socialist ownership and economic methods of management.

Concerning the issue discussed by the special CPSU Central Committee Plenum, V.A. Ivashko emphasized that dissatisfaction and isolation had never in history led to anything good. After a certain length of time this has become a bitter lesson, but the losses have been irreversible. It is to such consequences that the decision of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, which proclaimed essentially its detachment from the CPSU, could lead. Having been the initiator of perestroyka, the CPSU is also the guarantor of the success of the transformations which have begun. Only a single formation can it accomplish its purpose of consolidating force of Soviet society. Arguments were adduced in support of a strengthening of both the economic and political unity of the Soviet republics.

The first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee answered the workers' questions. He sincerely thanked the industrial outfits of the enterprises for their high trust—his nomination as candidate for people's deputy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Accompanying V.A. Ivashko was A.I. Kuznetsov, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kiev City Party Committee.

Ukrainian Women's Council Platform

90UM0071A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Dec 89 p 3

[Platform adopted by Women's Councils of Republic for elections of people's deputies of Ukrainian SSR and deputies for local soviets; place, date not given]

[Text] Supporting the course of the party toward basic political and economic transformation, we consider our women's problems to be of universal significance, influencing the physical and spiritual health of society and future generations, which must be solved on the governmental level with direct participation of women themselves.

The overcoming of unsurmountable socioeconomic tasks, acute problems, and negative phenomena which disturb society will depend on the composition and activity of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies who will be elected 4 March 1990. Understanding this, women's councils of the republic enter the pre-election struggle, at the same time advancing women as candidates for Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and deputies to local soviets.

Our candidates, in the event they are elected deputies, will direct their professional knowledge, natural talents, creative energy, and legislative, organizational, and controllers' activity toward:

a. Working out scientifically founded and realistically adjusted governmental republic-level programs for the entire complex of questions that concern the position of women, protection of the family, motherhood, and childhood; basic improvement in the organization and conditions of labor; accelerating the technical reequipping of industry and agriculture; augmented by a system of improvements in the professional-qualification structure of the female work force.

b. Raising all workplaces and shops where women work to correspond to contemporary sanitary and hygiene norms; introducing economic and legal sanctions for their violation; gradual removal of women from night shifts; broad introduction of nonstandard work conditions for mothers; activating the search for additional reserves to permit gradual reduction of their work hours while retaining their average earnings; strengthening controls over and demands on executives in the introduction of such preferences.

c. Securing basic improvement in protection of mothers' and children's health; great improvements in pediatric and obstetrical-gynecological services, especially in rural locations. Providing for separate shops and sections for temporary work by those already pregnant in the planning stages for new enterprises.

d. Raising the material status of families, especially the young and those with many children, where the income per member of the family is lower than the subsistence minimum, and also the creation of living conditions appropriate to families of those in or in military service and those relieved of duty and transferred to the reserve, increasing the prestige of the family, motherhood and fatherhood, and strengthening their responsibility for the raising of children.

e. Including in the length of service those years which a nonworking woman devotes to raising three or more children of preschool or the youngest school age.

[illegible]

f. Improvement of daily services to the population, rational distribution of the services, bringing them nearer to the places of residence, introduction of government orders for preparation of a broad range of quality daily use technical items, in sufficient quantity, and reasonable in price.

g. Working out and confirming the special All-Union comprehensive program for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station, investigative and purposeful work in conservation and cleaning up of the natural environment, increasing controls to secure ecologically clean production, first of all of children's nutrients.

h. Realization of measures to harmonize international and national education, love for Ukrainian and other national languages which are used by the population of the Ukraine, beginning with the family, kindergarten, and school.

Women deputies will give a personal example in the struggle for purity of thought and mutual relations, purity of word and action, be conducive to the rebirth of a high, respectful treatment of women and of older people, creating conditions favorable to utilizing the energies of the young, raising the prestige of the family, attention to the condition of women-pensioners, lonely and disabled people, and the development of charity in action.

In the election campaign women's councils will actively cooperate with party, labor union, Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League], veteran, and other public and voluntary associations, which from a base of constructive positions that advocate a renewal of our society.

We count on the broad circles of electors, both men and women, to duly and without prejudice appreciate the humanity and realism of the pre-election platform of the women's councils, to take into consideration the businesslike, political, and moral qualities of our candidates, and to vote for them. Believe that they will justify your hopes! They will function actively, intelligently, and constructively for social and national renewal and a flowering of Soviet Ukraine, a purification and improvement of life, which will be felt by every working person and family without exception.

New Moldavian Party Secretary Interviewed

[illegible]

in Russian 7 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Yu.V. Sobor, secretary of Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent G. Pavlenko: "There Is No Other Force."]

[Text] [Pavlenko] Yevgeniy Vasilyevich, there is obviously no need for you to be specially introduced to our readers because you are well known in the republic community from your work in the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League], in the cultural sphere and in the party authorities, including the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Tell us, do you at this time [illegible] but that you have sufficient powers to contribute in your new, even more responsible office to the stabilization of the social and political situation in the republic?

[Sobor] Frankly, after a more than four-year break I had no idea that I would once again return to the party apparatus. Although it seems to me that those years have not been in vain. Working in the republic State Committee for Cinematography and the Ministry of Culture afforded me an opportunity to see without any [illegible] even-tinted glasses the state of the sphere of the people's spiritual life and to perceive in reality the crisis being experienced by our culture today. In a word, what we were paying were the results of that residual principle which everyone rejects in words, but has no idea of in reality. But this means libraries huddled in basements, unheated culture centers which fail to attract people, the low pay of people working in culture. The residual approach here of official indifference means robbing ourselves, robbing our spirituality, which can bring nothing but pain.

This is why we tried to unite all those interested in a decisive renewal of spiritual life, primarily the republic's artistic forces, in a discussion of the ways out of the crisis. This collaboration culminated in the elaboration of the draft "Culture 2000" concept, which, in my view, incorporates much that is interesting.

As for today's difficult situation in the republic and the complexity of the ways out of it, I have never concealed my opinions and my position. I have never put among the group certain silent, which, if you believe the saying, is "golden". And although I have repeatedly been advised to "butt out," I have expressed my attitude toward what is happening in the republic both at Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenums and at sessions of the republic Supreme Soviet.

The suggestion that I head the sphere of ideology in the party Central Committee was, not to equivocate, a surprise, and not only for me. For my colleagues in the Ministry of Culture also. The more so in that we had drawn up wide-ranging plans for the next three or four years. For this reason the decision to transfer to the Central Committee was preceded by both a discipline right and complex reflections and doubts... The decisive part was played here by the recognition that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee November Plenum had put an end to the technocratic approaches to running the republic.

The affirmation in the activity of the party committees of political methods of leadership, equal and respectful dialogue with all forces advocating perestroyka and a renewal of life in the republic—this is today the policy of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. This is a complex, but important and crucial business and it is, let us not fear this word, of historic significance

and is really bringing our future closer. This work is in keeping with my predilection and interests.

[Pavlenko] Do you have a concept for restructuring the ideological work?

[Solkov] A concept for restructuring ideological work—this means essentially a practicable, scientifically substantiated program of actions which takes fully into consideration the particular features of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. If we have not succeeded in formulating it prior to the 17th Moldavian Communist Party Congress, we ideologists should all resign.

What is the difficulty here? Earlier, as you know, it was simple. There was the CPSU Central Committee and every conceivable ideological institute in the center—they were all the laws there were and would devise and dispatch, and our job would be to fulfill. Today the situation is fundamentally different. We have to think and act independently, but, as reality testifies, not everyone is prepared for or capable of this. But the time limit allotted for reflection and the formulation of our strategy and tactics has, unfortunately, passed.

The principal Gorbachevian proposition in policy—"it is necessary to proceed from realities"—should be made the basis of our concept of restructuring ideological work. The restructuring of the consciousness (and it is to this that the concept is geared) cannot amount to a simple replacement of ideological postulates and illusions from the illusions of the time of stagnation but must primarily contribute to the inclusion of the consciousness in the real change in people's objective living conditions and reality. Thus the problem amounts to people's inclusion in revolutionary practice for the renewal of our society. And there are enough obstacles on this path—some people have not overcome within themselves the conservative virus, some wish to return to the standards of vanished Stalin-Brezhnev stereotypes, and some would prefer not to engage in the renovation of our common home but confine themselves to its cosmetic repair.

We simply cannot today think and act as did the servants of yesterday. Frozen dogma is, perhaps, what is most dangerous. We need now in all things to be guided by militant critical thought. Only thus, I believe, may we accelerate the movement of the ship of perestroyka.

[Pavlenko] What will the specific action program of the republic's ideological activists for the coming months be like, what will be its main components?

[Solkov] The most immediate one will undoubtedly be the elections. They will be complex, tense, and ambivalent. The priority task now is to formulate the tactics of interaction with all public organizations and formations in order to elect to the supreme and local soviets of people's deputies the most worthy parliamentarians. Today perestroyka has most need not for blatherers, who with exceptional airiness and without troubling themselves with deep thought, promise the people a land flowing with milk and honey, but intelligent, practical people. The shortage of the actively creative personality must finally be claimed [as published].

The most dangerous thing in the election campaign is uncontrollable political spontaneity, when people act not out of considerations of prudence but, rather, in a state of general impression, by virtue of someone's adroit play on national feelings and prejudices. This spontaneity is tenacious with us also, particularly since we do not possess firm democratic traditions and since insufficient knowledgeability and a low level of political schooling are clearly perceived in many people. And the main task of the party organizations and various public formations is to oppose these negative phenomena, to prevent demagogues and windbags from playing on national and religious feelings, and to aspire to solve emergent problems with regard for the interests of various social and national groups and on the paths of mutual respect and benevolence. May the law and wisdom prevail in the election struggle.

[Pavlenko] Since the Second Congress there has been an intensification, I believe, of the criticism of the party, particularly of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. What are the ideologists thinking of counterposing to this extraordinary, to be blunt, surprise ideological situation?

[Solkov] This is no fortuitous question, of course. As you know, until most recently ideologists were seen merely as a kind of rapid deployment corps which adapted ideology to the interests of the present moment. Let's face it, such an approach has completely discredited itself and led to a weakening of the party's ideological unity and a lowering of its authority in the masses. This is what lies behind the demands for the removal of Article 6 from the USSR Constitution.

As far as the role and place of the Communist Party is concerned, they are determined not by some decrees and laws but by the struggle for the realization of the plans of perestroyka of our whole society. But in our society there is no longer a real social force, other than the CPSU, which could bring to a conclusion the restructuring of the political mechanism, specific problems of socioeconomic building and all questions of our development.

Paper Shortage Stops Presses in Chernigovskaya

LD2311130790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] None of the seven republican newspapers was published in Chernigovskaya today. Nor will they be received in the next few days by readers of the four oblast oblasts in the Ukraine, which are supplied by the Chernigovskaya printing house. The reason for the emergency situation is the lack of paper. CHERNOBYL and AREA NEWS 1 FEB[illegible] not a similar fate 2 weeks ago.

The situation cannot be classed as unexpected. Local print workers have warned the leaders of the republican publishing house about it on more than one occasion and, yesterday evening, the printing presses came to a halt. According to reports from [illegible] correspondents, the oblast's press distribution service has received instructions to prepare to receive all copies from 8 Jan. In this event, deliveries to readers will be at least 2 to 3 days behind. The central and oblast newspapers are being published according to schedule in [illegible] for the moment. The article is entitled: No Papers; Listen to the Radio.

Chernigov Party Opposition to 'Crisis'

[LD301117Z90] Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2300 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] As we have already reported, after mass public demonstrations in Chernigov, a number of oblast party and local soviet leaders were removed from office. It seemed that after this the situation ought to have become normal but a large meeting has again taken place in Chernigov. My colleague Andrey Sidenko got in touch by phone today with one of the 6,000 participants in the meeting, Aleksandr Kuznetsov, a Chernigov doctor.

[Begin recording] [Kuznetsov] At the meeting that was held people wanted to hear about how the expanded CPSU oblast committee [obkom] plenum had passed off on the 23d and how the city authorities want to get out of this crisis which has arisen here. There were many speakers. At the end a resolution was adopted calling on the entire obkom bureau to resign, because the matter had been left unresolved—only top people and ideology secretaries had stirred, while others remained at their posts. Further, a lack of trust was expressed in the commission that was set up after the previous meeting. The commission should have looked into the abuses by representatives of the party apparatus and members of the obkom bureau, but the commission had done none of this. It issued a general conclusion that there weren't any such abuses in particular and that there are no materials on them. For this reason a lack of trust in this commission was expressed and a proposal was put forward by deputies to set up a new commission in which there would be more representatives from informal associations.

[Sidenko] Aleksandr Ivanovich, tell us, please, did the newly elected first secretary of the Chernigov oblast party committee speak at this meeting?

[Kuznetsov] Unfortunately he was not at the meeting, but the first secretary of the obkom was not the only one not present at the meeting—I didn't see representatives of the obkom at all at the meeting. At all events they did not deliver speeches. [end recording]

It is a shame, but there are still many cases where the leaders of party bodies either distance themselves from active struggle or lag behind the processes of renewal.

Odessa Oblast Worse Pogrom Instigators

[LD0801203190] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Odessa, 30 Jun—TASS correspondent Vadim Severinenok reports:

The Odessa Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has publicly warned provokers who incite people to commit pogroms on ethnic grounds that the authorities will take the most resolute measures to defend citizens of any nationality. This has been announced by Ruslan Bodelan, secretary of the oblast committee's commission on questions of relations between the nationalities, who spoke this evening on local television.

In recent days leaflets of an inflammatory nature have been circulated in Odessa and the Odessa oblast (the northern Black Sea area) where the representatives of more than 100 ethnic groups live, and flying visits by the emissaries of various "fronts" and organizations from other regions of the country calling for nationalist manifestations have become more frequent.

All of this was discussed today at emergency session by the commission of the oblast committee of the party on issues of relations between the nationalities. It sharply condemned the stepping up of chauvinist and nationalist manifestations in the Black Sea area, as well as in several other regions of the USSR.

At the same time, the commission condemned as provocative rumors about possible persecutions and pogroms in the city and oblast. It gave assurances that the bodies of state power will take the most resolute measures against anyone who tries to violate the law and inflict actions which insult the honor and dignity of citizens of any nationality.

Warning of 'Socialist Measures'

PM2607111790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Warning to Instigators"]

[Text] Odessa, 30 Jun—An emergency sitting of the Odessa Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee Commission on Questions of Ethnic Relations was held here today. Representatives of law-enforcement bodies, national-cultural societies, and the mass media took part in its work.

Those present adopted a statement in which they sharply condemned the increase in chauvinist and nationalist manifestations both in the Black Sea area and also in some oblasts of the Ukraine, and in other republics, in particular the activity of terrorists in the Transcaucasus.

It was stressed at the sitting that the actions of the extremist wing of "Pamyat" and similar chauvinist organizations which poison relations between peoples through national dissension and anti-Semitism will be

prosecuted in accordance with the law and their activity in the country must be banned. At the same time the commission resolutely rejected as provocative statements regarding possible prosecution and pogroms in the city and oblast. It assured citizens that leaders of state power will employ the most resolute measures against anyone who tries to breach the law and carry out actions offending the honor and dignity of citizens of any nationality.

Georgian Central Committee Holds Plenum 31 Jan

LD2601174690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] A plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee took place in Tbilisi today. It worked out fundamental positions on major urgent political questions and gave a balanced appraisal of those factors and phenomena in public life which concern not only Communists but all people in the republic. Comrade Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke at the plenum. In an extremely frank manner he gave a precise appraisal, based on party principles, of the events on 9 April in Tbilisi and what has happened recently in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and certain other regions of the republic, as well as the activities of the previous political leadership, which was unable to formulate a mechanism for a political settlement to conflicts and differences.

The plenum approved and adopted a concept of the republic's national development in which fuller consideration has been given to national characteristics, the traditional structure of the Georgian economy, way of life and culture, and balance of interethnic relations.

The participants in the plenum spoke self-critically about the fact that in many directions the republican Communist Party is currently lagging behind the pace of restructuring public awareness, and that this could again lead to serious complications and hinder the constructive dialogue in society which has begun. It was precisely because of this that the members of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee decided to bring forward the date of the next congress and to launch a broad precongress debate.

The plenum adopted a decision on the questions discussed.

Georgian Infant Murdered in Chuvilin 3 Jan

MK3001[illegible]8 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by Viktor Dmitrenko: "Tragedy in Village of Pria"]

[Text] Meetings took place yesterday in Tbilisi in the buildings of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. The reason for them was the tragedy that occurred in the village of Pria, near Tskhinvali—the murder of 11-month-old Pasha Nikoravich. We heard this dreadful news from the lips of inhabitants of Pria and nearby villages who had come to the capital. There were more than 150 of them. They were all asking the same thing: to meet with press workers to tell them everything, the sharp and unconvincing pain, to tell the truth.

And that meeting took place. Editors of the republic's newspapers, leading television workers, representatives of the All-Georgian Restoration Society, the People's Front, the Iveria Charitable Society, the Helsinki Group, and the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and journalists gathered in the meeting hall of the editorial offices of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS.

The bitter, dreadful truth was told. It was about the fate of people drawn into the machinery of events that have seized one of Georgia's regions—the Shida Kartli. It was about the spilling of blood, the violence, and the misfortune that struck the Nikoravich family.

It is difficult even to believe the cruelty of what was done. But perhaps the child is still alive and well? That was the hope.

We turned to the duty officer in the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs for information.

"Unfortunately, no," they told us from the other end of the line. "But we have few details on the crime.

They told us that there is testimony from the child's father that on 3 January at exactly midnight the door of their home was unexpectedly flung open and shots rang out. One bullet hit the head of the sleeping infant. The criminal, according to Josif Nikoravich, fled from the scene of the crime.

The seriously wounded Pasha was taken to the hospital in Gori, where he died some time later. The Georgian Prosecutor is now conducting an investigation. Four men are suspected of the murder.

The agitated people of Shida Kartli, who are unused to talking to such a large audience, talked about the situation that has developed there. It is very tense and it is difficult to predict what consequences and what irreparable misfortune may stem from inactivity and passiveness on the part of the corresponding organs responsible for order in the region. There is no need of words, no need of empty promises that everything will soon be sorted out and things put in their proper places. Those attending the meeting affirmed that this will not be so if the republic militia does not take control of events and take charge of the situation. They also demanded the immediate elimination of the so-called "defense headquarters" that is operating in Ossetia. In addition, those attending the meeting announced that the republic pros-

and radio and television are obliged to give people exhaustive and objective information about what is happening in Shida Kartli.

Appeal on Violence

90UM0028 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Jan 90 p 3

["Appeal" from journalists to Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Georgian Council of Ministers in Tbilisi on 6 January]

[Text] In recent days the situation in Shida Kartli has become very tense and has reached a critical stage. Unrestrained Ossetian extremists are committing openly illegal acts against the Georgian public (verbal abuse, rape, assault, murder, acts of gangsterism). We and the broad public masses have learned that on 3 January, during the latest pogrom against Georgian families, an unprecedented crime was committed in the village of Prisi—a 10-month-old infant was killed by a shot fired into its cradle.

Today, following the meeting with our despairing fellow countrymen from Shida Kartli during which we heard what they had to say, we deem it necessary to issue the following appeal to you:

1. On behalf of the entire Georgian people to express an official protest against the tendentious and one-sided coverage of the processes taking place in our republic by the central mass media and television, which is making the situation extremely acute. At the same time we demand that the appropriate competent organs in the republic create for us the conditions necessary for proper coverage of the state of affairs in the region.

2. To take decisive steps to have the republic forces guarantee proper order as soon as possible in the region, and to create normal living conditions for the Georgian and Ossetian peoples. To this end the priority task must be to find and make an example of the traitors to the motherland who have set themselves the goal of creating an ethnic crisis, and to establish a special regime of control.

We believe that if this is not done the situation that has been created will lead to direct consequences for which the republic leadership must be held responsible.

[Signed] Vakhtang Abashidze, editor of the newspaper SOKOLOVSKII GOLOS; Yuri Bochuri, editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA MOLODYozh; Murab Beridzishvili, editor of the newspaper KRASNAYA ZARYA KOMMUNISTA; Tengiz Gachechiladze, editor of the newspaper LELO; Vladimir Gogilashvili, editor of the newspaper SOVYeTSKAYA ROSSIYA; Aleksandr Ioselian, editor of the newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA; Apollon Silagadze, editor of the newspaper KRASNOZNAMENNOYe ZNAMYa; Shakro Shkhvatsiashvili, deputy secretary of the board of the Georgian Union of Journalists; Saburoan Sabromanov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA; Vladimir Ugolnikov, first deputy editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKOYe ZNAMYa; Dalila Tsulaiia, deputy editor of the newspaper SOVETSKOYe FOTO; Ramin Chelidze, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Elizbar Dzhordzhiashvili, editor of the newspaper LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO; Georgy Gachechiladze, chairman of the Rustaveli Society Commission for Interethnic Relations; Guram Komsashvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian People's Front Commission for Interethnic Relations.

Personnel Changes Reported in Georgia

90UM0028C Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 Jan 90 p 1

[GORKOM/OBKOM report: "Persons Have Taken Place"]

[Text] A plenum of the Tbilisi City gorkom [city party committee] has taken place to review an organizational matter.

The plenum relieved B.D. Mukhkarashvili of his duties as first secretary and bureau member of the gorkom in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

As a result of a secret ballot, N.M. Lekashvili, who used to work as gorkom second secretary, was elected to the post of first secretary of the Tbilisi gorkom.

A.V. Ingorokva, who used to work as first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy raykom [rayon party committee] in Tbilisi City, was elected second secretary and member of the Tbilisi gorkom bureau.

G.G. Gumberidze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke at the plenum.

N.B. Sukhareva, chief of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

A joint plenum of the Gori city and rayon committees has taken place to consider organizational matters.

A.I. Kavsadze, who used to work as Georgian SSR chief state arbiter, was elected first secretary and member of the Georgian Communist Party Gori gorkom bureau.

I.Sh. Loladze and G.I. Lazarashvili were elected secretaries and members of the gorkom bureau.

N.A. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, took part in and spoke at the plenum.

Volgograd Oblast Committee Bureau Resigns

LD3001162190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1541 GMT 30 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Inna Stroykova]

[Text] Volgograd, 30 January (TASS)—At a plenum today, secretaries and members of the bureau of the party's Volgograd Oblast committee declared that it was impossible to carry out their duties.

At the previous plenum, held on 24 January, the request of Vladimir Kalashnikov, first secretary of the oblast committee, to be relieved of his duties was granted. A secret ballot then expressed confidence in the majority of the members of the bureau.

But the results of the work of the plenum received a negative appraisal from many party organizations, labour collectives, and residents of the oblast. Party meetings and plenums of Volgograd city committee and certain raion committees of the party expressed no confidence in the entire composition of the oblast committee, and demanded that an extraordinary party conference be convened. The reconvened plenum has now accepted the resignation of the secretaries and members of the bureau of the oblast committee.

Volgograd Mass Meeting Criticizes Party Oblkom

LD2001170190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Volgograd, 29 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Inna Stroykova reports:

Participants in a mass meeting today on the banks of the Volga talked in harsh and emotional language of a worsening of the already complex sociopolitical situation in the oblast caused by the 24 January plenum of the Volgograd CPSU Oblast Committee [oblkom]. The people of Volgograd share the negative assessment of the plenum's work which has been voiced by many party organizations and labor collectives in the town and oblast.

Vladimir Kanunin, secretary of Volgograd CPSU Oblkom, spoke at the meeting and read out a decision by the party's oblkom buro which met yesterday. He reported that the questions of the party oblkom buro resigning and convening an extraordinary oblast party conference and of bringing to account leaders who have violated housing legislation are being put to a plenum. These demands are reflected in the resolution calling the meeting. Those taking part in it demanded that there should be direct multicandidate elections to the conference and that there should be widespread discussion of the delegates' platforms.

Karaganda Oblast First Secretary Resigns

LD2010122190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Large-scale discussion of candidacies for the post of first secretary of the Karaganda city party committee has started in that city's party organizations. The reason is because the current first secretary has sent in his resignation. Among the candidates mentioned are:

Ilkov, director of the heating equipment works;

Orazlinov, chairman of the city executive committee;

Golub, director of the Karagandaugol association in charge of material and technical supplies;

Ovchinnikov, chief engineer of the "30-Letiya Oktyabrskoy Revolyutsii" mine.

The question of the first secretary of the Karaganda oblast party committee will be tabled at the next plenum.

Kazakh Leader on Housing, Social Programs

90UM0088A Tashkent EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 6, Jan 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Uzakhay Karamanov, chairman of Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, by N. Savchenko, Alma-Ata: "Social Guarantees Are Way to Stable Economy"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Karamanov:] There is this kind of an index in statistics. How much housing was built in the year per 1,000 persons. Well, in just two years the introduction of housing in our republic increased from 623 to 733 square meters. In three years, on the whole, the advancement in the order of priority in the republic will constitute 60 persons. That is, practically every second person standing in line for housing up to 1 January 1987 has already received a separate apartment or a house. Incidentally, the "Housing-91" program is already generally completed in the village. This progress made it possible to reduce the outflow of the population from rural localities by one-third. Now our task is to expand the construction of comfortable homes here in order to reverse the process of migration: from the city to the village.

The line is also being held on the acceleration of construction of other buildings in the social sphere. There is no disagreement in the government on this: The construction must be systematic. The average annual volume of putting new schools, kindergartens, and health facilities into operation in the last three years exceeds the level of the previous five-year plan by 30-50 percent.

The republic plans to complete the tasks of the current five-year plan in housing in the first quarter of 1990.

This kind of dynamic affirms the fulfillment of the assigned task—by 1 January 1992, there should be no

people in the republic who have been waiting to get an apartment for more than five years.

[Savchenko] It is not possible to say that when the "Housing-91" program was adopted by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee the republic's construction industry was at a high level. Indeed, even today there are interruptions in the construction assembly line. But, as we see, the construction of buildings in the social sphere and housing is being accomplished. What is the secret here?

[Karamanov] I do not know whether it is possible to say that the secret is the unshackled initiative of the people. The "Housing-91" program has become a nation-wide program, and the people are asking their leaders to implement it. At residential gatherings and meetings of work collectives, the managers of republican [executive committee] of local soviets, enterprises and organizations, and farms present reports to the population not less than once a quarter. The first time, until the practice took root, the administration also came to the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, and to us in the government. They say, the authority of the manager is under threat (suddenly he will not be able to answer some kind of questions!); therefore—make yourself secure. But from whom—from the people?

Naturally, the demands of the people increased the responsibility of administration, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the workers suggested new approaches to the resolution of the housing problem and helped revive old ones that had been forgotten. Thus, in the 1960's in the republic, more than half of the total volume of individual dwelling units was built. Afterwards, this construction dropped almost to zero. Today, it is growing once again, and in the next two years it will reach 25 percent of the total volume of housing construction.

The Ust-Kamenogorsk lead-zinc combine provided an example of active assistance to individuals building their own homes. It took on itself the trouble of removing earth, designing, engineering support, and delivery of building materials. Technological lines were set up in the industry to manufacture bricks, carpentry items, and equipment. The hiring of equipment and instruments was organized. The combine reimburses builders even for part of the material expenses. The initiators have found numerous followers.

Good results are also being achieved by youth housing cooperatives and the family-contract economic methods of construction. The Gosstroy [State Construction Committee] of the Union gave permission to build additional stories on homes already built. People on waiting lists have come to the aid of builders. By receiving an order in advance, they decorate the housing to their own taste. The practice of selling the population ready apartments and homes is becoming widespread in the country.

Intensification in the use of the capabilities of home-building combines gave an additional more than 200,000 square meters of housing in two years. For the construction of housing by using one's own building resources, arrangements were made for the production of brick-producing aggregates. This alone increased the annual output of bricks by more than 300,000 bricks. The manufacture of other types of wall materials has been organized. In a majority of the oblasts, small carpentry shops have been set up, and arrangements have been made for long-term and mutually advantageous ties with lumberjacks in Siberia and the Far East. Construction and reconstruction is being completed on several large capacities for the output of bathroom ware, linoleum, wall materials, and other structures and articles.

Of course, problems cannot be avoided. Little is allocated for market funds for the basic types of building materials, and only 20-30 percent of the credit needs of the population for individual construction is covered, and machine builders who specialize in the output of equipment for enterprises of the construction industry are lagging seriously.

With the switch to the principle of territorial economic accountability, the local soviets, and indeed the republic as a whole, must learn to earn the means independently and to balance expenditures and income, as is done by zealous bosses.

[Savchenko] That is, new stimuli for social development are appearing?

[Karamanov] Yes. And, first and foremost, regional factors of accelerating socio-economic development must be ascribed to them, factors that so far have not been used as they should.

[Savchenko] One of the tasks that has to be resolved within the framework of regional economic accountability is to bring the living conditions in the village closer to those in the city. In what way?

[Karamanov] This very year priority is being given to the development specifically of the rural infrastructure. We have for too long avoided resolution of the pressing problems of the village. For example, the virgin land oblasts. Built back in the years of assimilating the new lands, the worksite settlements do not have engineering installations, and the housing inventory is dilapidated. The population of more than 700 settlements uses imported water. You can count on your fingers the households that are reached by natural gas, and where there is central heating and sewerage. Road building is seriously lagging. But the most acute social contrasts appear in remote rural regions of the republic, where, basically, the native population lives. After a detailed study of the situation, a resolution of the Council of Ministers of the republic appeared on how to improve the most ill-equipped regions. Starting with the new year, the task of building public facilities in them is envisaged in the state plan as a separate line item. This means that the most acute problems will not only begin to be resolved, but that they will be continuously monitored.

It is natural that these public priorities will require major measures in the restructuring of investment policy. In 1990, R1.259 billion [rubles] is being allocated for non-industrial construction in rural areas, which is R115 million more than was provided in the five-year plan.

Tajik News Conference on State of Armed Forces

LD301230(0900) Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1000 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, attended by representatives of the republic's military forces.

Zakharov, member of the country's Defense Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Turkestan "Red Banner" Military District; Vorobov, chief of the Dushanbe Military Garrison; and other military officers, spoke on the present state of the country's armed forces. The news conference was attended by representatives of the mass media.

It was noted that restructuring is necessary in the country's armed forces. The physical, political and military preparedness of the soldiers is not up to standard. Of course, it is obvious that youths ought to be comprehensively prepared for military service before conscription. As was stated at the news conference, not enough attention is being paid in our republic to military- patriotic education. This work has been carried out slackly at schools. Last year alone, 3,877 conscripts were discharged from the ranks of the Armed Forces before completing their term of service due to bad health. Work on military preparedness is noticeably below the needs of restructuring in Farzobod, Gissar, Leninskiy, Dzhirgatal, Kalininobodskiy, Garm and some other rayons of Kurgan-tyube Kurgan-Tyube Oblast. Russian language teaching is also slack in these rayons. Of course, commands in military units mostly speak in Russian, and instructions too have been published in this language. Without doubt, knowledge of this language will help youths greatly in performing their military service and in understanding military [words unknown].

Practical measures are being taken in the republic to prepare youths for [compulsory] military service. This is the 2d year that 1-month military-patriotic courses will be held in the rayons' military commissars. Last year, 7,500 youths were conscripted into the army's ranks after completing these courses.

It was also noted at the news conference that in the republic more youths commit crimes before joining the ranks of the Armed Forces. In 1989 in our republic 813 conscripts had criminal records.

It was stressed that measures should be taken, with the help of mass media and social organizations, to eliminate such shortcomings and problems. At the end, participants in the news conference replied to questions from journalists.

Gidaspov Declines To Run as Leningrad Deputy

LD300139(0400) Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] In bringing to an end the conversation on a party theme in this bulletin, I want to note that Comrade Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom and city committee, has declined to register as candidate deputy for the Leningrad soviet, although he was put forward by many labor collectives. Some say that such a decision on his part was influenced by repercussions from a meeting, called a right-wing meeting, on 22 November. I'll remind you, of last year. It took place in Leningrad. Others think that one can understand Gidaspov since he says he already has enough on his hands as a USSR people's deputy and leader of the Leningrad party organization. Although, as one often has occasion to hear in these cases: He who shuns the struggle, fears it. As they say, we will live and learn. Time will tell.

"Unexpected Turn of Events"

PM310125'90 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 p 2

[S. Kazin article under rubric "Elections-90": "B.V. Gidaspov: I Decline Registration..."]

[Text] A few days ago, B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom and city committee [obkom, gorkom], thanking voters for their confidence, declined to be registered as candidate deputy for the Leningrad City Soviet in any of the electoral okrugs where he had been nominated by various labor collectives. Boris Vsevolodovich gave as the motive for his refusal his intention to concentrate his efforts primarily on his job as first secretary of the party obkom and gorkom and member of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

An unexpected turn of events. At least until quite recently a single question was being hotly debated—whether a party leader should head the soviet of people's deputies, while the question of a first secretary of the CPSU obkom not taking part in the elections to the local soviet never even came up. Suddenly, B.V. Gidaspov voluntarily bows out of the campaign for a deputy's seat.

According to preliminary data, in more than 250 of the 400 electoral okrugs, democratic candidate deputies for the Leningrad City Soviet have been nominated with the active support of the Leningrad People's Front and the "Vozrozh' Association" mass organization. Most of these candidates are communists, but this does not necessarily mean that the influence of the present party apparatus on the new body of deputies will remain what it was. I have no doubt at all, that the new composition of the Leningrad City Soviet will express the interests of the population much more vigorously, and that it will be more radical.

How is B.V. Gidaspov's statement to be interpreted in this situation? On the one hand a precedent has been created which is highly characteristic of the present times. Currently, when yesterday's opposition forces are entering the political arena in many socialist countries, many of our party leaders are also renouncing their traditional monopoly of power with good intentions. An independent city soviet, or rather a city soviet dependent only on the voters' will, is only to be welcomed. However, on the other hand, we can hardly ignore the numerous telephone calls from Leningraders to the editorial office expressing puzzlement at the fact that the leader of the party organization is bowing out of the election campaign.

"The Leningrad obkom and gorkom first secretary has withdrawn from the election struggle precisely at a time when obkom secretaries in a number of regions are forced to resign under pressure from the population. Is this a fortuitous coincidence?" our reader Anatoliy Kartashov from Leningrad asks. A reasonable question, but I must clarify one essential detail. Life is removing from high posts, above all, those people who were molded and who made their career in the depths of the apparatus itself. Boris Veniaminovich, on the other hand, is a scientist, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and major organizer of the military-industrial complex. I shall not be sinning against truth when I say that Leningraders placed much trust in their new party leader.

Judging by appearances, B.V. Gidaspov's initial popularity—great hopes were linked with him—would have survived to this day. However, the political situation in Leningrad changed dramatically 22 November of last year. On that day a city-wide party rally was held which was assessed by democratic forces as an attempt at a "right-wing coup." In any case, "Gorbachev's line toward radical reforms" was called into question for everyone to hear. At this rally Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov unambiguously declared his position. I cannot claim that his popularity increased sharply in Leningrad as a result.

So in this kind of situation is it worthwhile for the obkom and gorkom first secretary to take the risk and enter the fierce election battle with democratic candidates? Everyone understands now that no one will vote on instructions from above. On this occasion no deputy mandates can be commandeered. In an open contest it is possible to lose!

Incidentally, it is possible to lose also without taking part in the elections to the local soviets. According to the Leningrad center for the study and forecasting of social processes, around two-thirds of Leningrad Communists have expressed a lack of confidence in the present composition of the party obkom and gorkom. And the population of Leningrad as a whole is in an even more radical mood. So that an extraordinary oblast party conference is an objective inevitability.

Arkhangelsk Obkom Head, Former Interviewed

90UN0308A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report on interviews with First Secretary of Arkhangelsk Oblast CPSU Committee Yu.A. Gankov and independent farmer N.S. Sivkov by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Filippov, date and place not given: "To Sivkov's Farmstead"]

[Text] "The Man From a Farmstead" was the title of the article which introduced our readers to the first farmer of Russia or, as everybody calls him now "the Arkhangelsk peasant," Nikolay Semenovich Sivkov. This happened in June 1985 (IZVESTIYA, No 173). Since then, IZVESTIYA has followed up many times on the events unfolding around the farmstead of Kenozya Gorka where Nikolay Semenovich, the peasant who has single-handedly challenged the administrative-bureaucratic system, lives and works. His relationship with with the local authorities, including the Arkhangelsk Obkom [oblast party committee] has not been easy. However, times are changing. Recently, Yuriy Aleksandrovich Gankov was elected first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee.

It is a pity I was not present at the plenum of the Arkhangelsk Obkom which elected Yu. Gankov first secretary. This plenum was held in late November, and at the time I was a thousand kilometers away from the White Sea, with the striking miners of Vorkuta.

I will recall the events which preceded this election.

Last spring, soon after the election of people's deputies in which P. Telepnev, first secretary of the obkom, was defeated, eight communists from Arkhangelsk sent a letter to him demanding his immediate resignation. In their opinion, the election showed that P. Telepnev's prestige had sunk to a critical level.

"The letter of the eight," as this document soon began to be called, was submitted to the party obkom plenum at the request of its authors. However, the party obkom bureau decided not to admit to this plenum either the authors of the letter themselves or the USSR people's deputies who sympathized with them. The entire proceedings of the plenum were so arranged that a discussion of the issue of authority of party functionaries turned into a condemnation of the frank position of the eight communists (this is what IZVESTIYA 1989, No 223 described in the report, "The Office Echo"). At the same time, communists at many Arkhangelsk enterprises adopted resolutions in support of the "letter of the eight." In a word, the events which unfolded were quite instrumental in P. Telepnev's decision to retire.

However, it was not easy for Yuriy Aleksandrovich Gankov to get the mandate of confidence either. I make this judgment on the basis of a detailed report on the plenum published by the Arkhangelsk Oblast newspaper PRAVDA SEVERA. An extremely difficult situation has emerged here in this northern, peripheral oblast. In the

White Sea area three homegrown difficulties have been added to the things from which the inhabitants of all regions suffer (shortages of housing, foodstuffs, and goods). Arkhangelsk is choked by the stench of two pulp and paper combines. For the second summer in a row, the doctors have banned swimming in the Northern Dvina. Ill-conceived prospecting and development of natural resources have undermined the economic basis of life of the Nenets. More than 20 percent of the reindeer pasture has been destroyed in the tundra. The forests are dying because cutting above the renewal level has come to four million cubic meters; nonetheless, the capacity of export-oriented lumber enterprises is idle for months at a time due to the shortage of raw materials...

Five candidate first secretaries of the CPSU obkom set forth their programs of socio-economic reinvigoration of the region. The names of three candidates whose proposals the plenum considered the most constructive were placed on the secret ballot. Yuriy Aleksandrovich Guskov received two-thirds of the votes.

Nonetheless, the question remained: **What made Yu. Gorkov, 54, a quite "successful" USSR first deputy minister of the timber industry, prefer the monumental problems of Arkhangelsk to the amenities of the capital city?** This is what I asked him when we met.

He said: "I have returned to Arkhangelsk because of the following considerations. First, I know this oblast and its people well. I worked here for 27 years after graduating from the Gorkiy Polytechnical Institute—at the Northern Machine Building Enterprise, and then at the Severodvinsk Gorkom [city party committee] and the CPSU obkom. I was invited to the Minlesprom (Ministry of the Timber Industry) in April 1987 when I was the second secretary of the obkom. The ministerial post made it possible for me to get a better view and grasp the possibilities for enhancing the backbone sector of the White Sea area, the chemical and timber complex. The second consideration was my belief that the honest and bold people of the north deserve a better life, and are capable of creating such a life themselves. To this end, all progressive forces, including the party, should be united on a constructive basis. I feel that I am equal to this task. This means that I had no right to remain in the ministry office.

[Filippov] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, the essence of your program is, perhaps, expressed by the laconic formula "Economics- Technology-Ecology." However, if we were to speak more specifically...

[Guskov] Then we will have to proceed from the chemical-timber complex yet again. At present, the timber business is the most profitable because it is based on renewable resources. We (I mean the country) procure about 380 million cubic meters of timber a year and produce about nine million tons of pulp. Meanwhile, Finland produces almost as much pulp cutting seven times less forest. Here is a specific case of resource utilization for you. We will have an abundance of furniture, parquet, paper, and wallpaper only if we emphasize enhanced upgrading...

However, domestic machine building furnishes us with machinery of the 1970's standard. It is necessary to enlist foreign capital for technical renewal by using the opportunities of joint enterprises and to acquire the most up-to-date machinery and technology on the basis of barter transactions with foreign companies. Our enterprises are independent enough for such actions. We just have to accomplish the tasks in a bolder manner because only the most modern technologies and nothing else will save Arkhangelsk from the poisonous breath of the decrepit pulp and paper combines. In the long run, I envision a free economic zone in Arkhangelsk Oblast. We are very rich: We have tremendous resources of timber, oil, gas, copper ore, and diamonds. There are three sea ports, and navigation could be maintained year round given modern icebreaker support.

You understand, it is necessary to consolidate all progressive forces in order to carry out this program. The platform has been set forth: It is necessary if we are to create the dignified living conditions which the people deserve.

[Filippov] How do you intend to achieve unity?

[Guskov] By open actions. Our party cause cannot but win by virtue of this.

Here are just a few details characteristic of Yu. Guskov's style of work in Arkhangelsk. For example, the new first secretary announced open access to the plenums of the party obkom. He ordered that a special room for bureau members in the obkom canteen be closed. Every day, he has several meetings with people at the enterprises, organizations, and farms. On the eve of our conversation, he stayed late at the editorial office of SEVERNYY KOMSOMOLETS where he took phone calls from readers of the youth newspaper. Many had difficulty believing that they were talking to the first secretary of the obkom.

On the eve of the new year, Yuriy Aleksandrovich GUSKOV called "the Arkhangelsk peasant" Nikolay Semenovich SIVKOV, wished him a happy holiday, and promised to stop by in early January.

In the course of our interview, Yu. Guskov repeated several times: "Sivkov is an economic phenomenon. The oblast produces only a half of the meat it consumes, only half! Hungry people will not restructure anything. At present, we should use any opportunity to invigorate agriculture. If we had 20 to 30 such 'Arkhangelsk peasants' per rayon all of us would have full stomachs."

We came to N. Sivkov's farmstead during the day on 5 January. It is located 300 kilometers south of Arkhangelsk, on the bank of the Northern Dvina. The master of Krasnaya Gorka treated the first secretary of the obkom guardedly—guests so highly placed had never been there before. In general, during his seven years of farming

Nikolay Semenovich has learned to expect nothing good from the ranking dignitaries of Arkhangelsk. He even told us a story about this after the ice of alienation melted away in the course of our conversation.

[Sivkov] I stopped by the rayon party committee, rayon executive committee, and oblast agroindustrial committee. They were not helpful. After that, I went to Telepnev. He saw me on my second try. He said: You know, Nikolay Stepanovich, ours is a big oblast, and I cannot take care of everything. You see, I spent two weeks in Spain... I told him: Don't travel abroad if you are swamped at home!.. This is how we parted.

The results of this parting are obvious everywhere in the cooperative of Krasnaya Gorka: the unfinished house and shop, the cattle yard put together with improvised materials, the tractor which should have been melted down long ago...

N. Sivkov says bitterly: "Since 1982, they have not let me get on my feet. Frankly, ours is not a cooperative. The means of production are mine. It is just that I hid behind the cooperative from the dignitaries. I am a peasant, a farmer. In a cooperative, there cannot be fewer than three persons, and I am alone. Hence the attitude toward me. I managed to get 10 calves for fattening with the greatest difficulty. In the rayon, they do not want to deal with me. They also turn me down for loans. We are paupers.

"I would like to give an example of the wicked tricks they resort to in order to do us in.

"Last spring, a French television crew arrived to film how I live and work. I thought that they would not give me a loan otherwise but with the French around they would, there would be nothing they could do. We went to the bank, and over there I declared that our cooperative wanted a loan to build a house, and the French were filming all of my negotiations. I filled out the form and said quietly: Give me 8,000 right away, or else I will tear up the document right in front of the camera. I knew that once the French left I would get nothing. They were afraid of an international disgrace and they gave me the loan. Recently, I filed a petition to lease a wooded tract. They turned me down. So, must I wait for the French again?"

Yu. Guskov: Under the law, the forest can now be leased. Valeriy Stepanovich Lykov, general director of the Arkhangelsklesprom Association, is here with me, go ahead and a sign a contract with him.

N. Sivkov: If we get the forest we will finish equipping the shop and will start auxiliary production for, say, "Severnaya Dvina."

Yu. Guskov: Do you maintain contacts with the furniture producers at "Severnaya Dvina?"

N. Sivkov: The association came up with 5,000 rubles. I gave them foodstuffs worth 6,000. I did not cheat them. However, so far they have not invested a lot in developing the cooperative. Their representative came by, and saw the shop: Great, this is where one of our factory shops is going to be. I said: No, that will not do, I have been and will remain a completely independent master.

Yu. Guskov: Managers of the association are entitled to sign a contract on any terms which the two parties find satisfactory. Whatever is not banned by the law is allowed.

N. Sivkov: Thank God. We know how to work, and we can work. Idle talk has it that the peasants in our country have degenerated, that they will not take the land. This is not true, they will because it is profitable, because it means being one's own boss. Whatever you devise in your mind and do with your hands is yours. I have here petitions from people asking to be admitted to the cooperative on the basis of complete independence. They want to have a cooperative like they used to have in villages in the old time—an association of peasant farms each of which is independent and settles with the state itself. However, the fees have got to be reasonable rather than having the peasants fleeced. As I was making the rounds in high places in Moscow last year, I said this everywhere: The land must be sold to the peasant to make him believe the state.

Yu. Guskov: Or leased long-term with the right to bequeath it.

N. Sivkov: No. It should be sold, even at symbolic prices, but sold! For example, I have now grabbed 194 hectares of leased land, and still cannot fix it properly. If my neighbor wants to be a peasant, there is no land for him. When I put my own money under every piece of land I will not grab too much, and I will hustle from the very first day on in order to recoup my costs.

Yu. Guskov: Indeed, this is a question. This is a subject for serious consideration.

N. Sivkov: If you support me, even morally, I will not give up what I have begun.

Yu. Guskov: I will support you!

As they parted, the first secretary of the obkom and the first farmer of Russia agreed to visit together A. Shilovskiy, general director of the scientific production association Kholmogorskoye, in a couple days. Nikolay Semenovich has an idea about signing a contract with the association for breeding the well-known "Kholmogory cows" especially to supply pedigree cattle to peasant farms. It looks like the "Arkhangelsk peasant" has a firm hope that now there will be many like him in the White Sea area.

Sokolov Takes Issue With Shmelev on Farms

PM3101115090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, plus postscript "from editorial office," under rubric "Viewpoint": "A Vexatious Fact—Lack of Realism"]

[Text] We are all tired of "teachers" who are not interested in whether their insistent recommendations meet the requirements of real life or reflect the essence of its processes. An agronomist of my acquaintance says: "It seems that in our country they invent a 'science' solely so that we can ruin our lives to prove it."

A bitter joke, neither more nor less, but I remembered it when I read G. Shmelev's article "Facts Are Stubborn Things" (IZVESTIYA No. 11).

It seems to me that this article is a call for a forceful campaign in favor of conversion to "private farming" [fermerizatsiya], the essence of which was defined quite accurately by V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of the All-Russian Kolkhoz Council and chairman of the "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association in Tula Oblast: "Breaking up the land into plots is a quick road to nowhere. Not only economically, but also socially. For the peasant himself, it means total slavery." (PRAVDA No. 6.) V.A. Starodubtsev, a major agricultural practitioner who has studied the economic and social consequences of ill-considered, dogmatic approaches, states firmly that it is necessary everywhere to act strictly on the basis of local conditions, the peasants' interests, and their free expression of will.

All that seems clear enough. But insistent proposals arise again and again whose implementation is aimed at bringing about virtual stagnation in kolkhoz and sovkhoz [state farm] production, and consequently at sharply exacerbating the food problem in the country, which involves the risk of inevitable social upheavals. Why? What for? G. Shmelev makes no secret of it: "There is no need to frighten us by talking about switching to another social system... Our agrarian policy should be based on the peasants' interests, and not on ideological dogmas."

Agreed. But the peasants' interests indicate specifically that coercion by the organs of power is intolerable. From now on, those responsible for recurrences of such coercion should be called strictly to account. We must not, we cannot be guided by ideological dogmas. Not only old ones, but even new ones—that is the whole point.

It is easy to destroy what has been created, but how can you create something new that requires investments amounting to many millions? Gradual progress—that is the most sensible principle, and in my opinion the majority of researchers, from philosophers and sociologists to economic practitioners, are already united in recognizing the evolutionary approach as the most fruitful form of revolutionary change.

Yet some people are in as much of a hurry as if they were engaged in blasting operations. And, seeing reality only in one dimension that they themselves find acceptable, they demand legislative guarantees at once—a claim which, to put it mildly, diverges from sober assessments of objective processes. I quote the same author: "In the leading capitalist countries, as a rule, there are few 'pure' lessees. The vast bulk of the peasants work their own land or increase their own allotment by leasing. In time, clearly, that will happen in our country, too. The law should take that eventuality into account."

Why run ahead of events like that? And what are the "leading capitalist countries" to us? Surely it must be clear by now to every serious scholar and practitioner that you must not, you cannot simply "transfer" historical experience, that you have to make your own social and economic history. That does not mean that you have to reinvent the bicycle, but it does mean that you must adopt a more attentive and more serious attitude to your own national experience.

People will say: In developed capitalist countries there are farms where.... But we have excellent farms too, they work on our soil and are adapted to our conditions, and clearly it is far easier to study, evaluate, and utilize our own country's experience than experience based on different social, technical, and even climatic conditions.

Analyzing the reasons for the economic prosperity of some farms and the grave situation of others, we find the explanation not in the fact that the social and organizational potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is exhausted, but in the persistence of the system of backward, essentially antisocialist views on labor collectives, which is, of course, partly associated with the restricted material investments in agriculture.

I regret to say that those who seek primarily to validate their own political preferences are unwilling to study the reasons for the backward socioeconomic situation in the countryside and ignore the vital interests of millions of producers and consumers of agricultural produce. Housing, culture, essential goods, skilled manpower, modern technologies, means of mechanization, and material and technical supplies—that is the key to abundance in the countryside and thence in the city.

The countryside should have in sufficient quantities and at acceptable prices high quality tractors, trucks, excavators, feed and silage harvesting combines, mineral fertilizers, sawn lumber and timber, cement, pipes—in short, everything necessary. Does this situation exist in our country? Will the "private farmer" help here? Or prices for agricultural produce? What is the scientists' contribution here?.. Can anyone seriously think that you can settle the countryside's debts by means of "persuading" the enthusiastic peasant to labor from dawn to dusk, enlisting the whole family, and renouncing opportunities for himself and his children to gain access to cultural assets and participate in the scientific and technical

revolution and the management of the state? Yet these are major social issues which entail major political consequences.

The high level of food supplies in the most developed capitalist countries is associated primarily with the high level of capital investment in agricultural enterprises—close to or even higher than the level in industry. Whereas in Belorussia, for example, it is only half the level that it is in the industry that produces the means of production for kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

And what about the social infrastructure, which is now, at long last, seen as one of the most important levers for boosting the efficiency of the agricultural sector? In the villages of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] (and these are not the worst indicators in the country) only just over 10 percent of homes have mains water, and just over 5 percent have hot running water. Only one-fourth of roads within farms have a hard surface.

And there can be no argument about it: On the republic's leading farms, the level of capital available is twice as high as the average indicators for the Belorussian SSR.

That is the whole secret. Give in order to receive. But people are once again trying to tempt us with the "cunning art" of receiving without giving.

To try to assure the public that the "private farmer" will feed the country is frivolous and disinformed. I have before me some calculations from the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of Economic Problems of the Agro-Industrial Complex. They show that given equivalent conditions, in order to achieve the same production results as the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, "private farmers" need a far higher level of capital availability. Finding the resources for that today is a difficult task in conditions where the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves urgently need a substantial influx of material and technical resources and skilled manpower.

The author of the article, in my view, is confusing personal subsidiary plots with commercial private farms. Thus in Belorussia (according to 1988 figures) personal subsidiary plots accounted for 23 percent of total agricultural production. A high percentage. But could the rural workers have participated so substantially in agricultural production if they did not have links with kolkhozes and sovkhozes? Of course not. They enjoy multifaceted assistance from kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And that assistance, incidentally, should be expanded considerably with a view to ensuring higher material accumulations.

Some zealots, who grossly profess the dogmas of the administrative edict style and condemn them only in public, try to impose on us the view that recognition of the equality of all forms of ownership presupposes the immediate, forcible destruction of a proportion of state and kolkhoz property. That is a dangerous view. Equality of forms of ownership means that the people, the collective, and the individual have the right to employ whatever form of ownership promises the best economic and social results and most closely meets both personal and collective social needs, but it does not presuppose some kind of "percentage representation"—that would be unscientific and destructive. In fact, it would set out to a reproduction of the approaches that we have long since assessed negatively.

To utilize the potential of private farming where the appropriate conditions exist—what could be more reasonable? I am afraid that the essence of my differences of opinion with the author as regards the approach to implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum and making practical use of its materials does not always lie in the sphere of economics.

Whether we like it or not, attempts to exert pressure on the agricultural sector with a view to ensuring the immediate and direct introduction of "private farming" regardless of local conditions and the working people's feelings reflect those same old "stagnationist," arrogant approaches, the same old irresponsibility and exploitation of the people's interests.

The idea of dismantling the country's agrarian sector is likely to add to our social and national problems and lead to an increase in the tendency for people to want to run their own show within our multi-apartment home. Tragic events are blazing up like flashes of lightning in the country. The number of casualties is growing, and the weeping of mothers and orphans should pierce our hearts and at last, clearly, call on us to be prudent.

Let us not close our eyes. Forces that were different kinds of perestroyka have polarized in society. Some, the vast majority, are filled with resolve to complete the transformations on the basis of humanistic socialism, renewing the entire distorted social mechanism; others long for a switch to capitalism at any price, without explaining what this actually means for the country, for the peoples of the USSR. These others are a minority, but that minority is growing, fed by speculations, foolishness, "radical" propaganda, and foreign support. Let no one seek to persuade us that these forces are democratic in nature. They demand more and more concessions, but no concessions will satisfy them—they need total dictatorship. You do not have to look far to find examples.

A dangerous escalation of events is taking place and we are moving further and further toward civil disturbances, which lead to unpredictable losses. Those who urge nationalism, social extremism, antiparty sorties, and separatism are playing with fire and jeopardizing the interests of working people and of all the Soviet peoples.

Perestroyka should culminate in the establishment of a democratic federal system with the most reliable guarantees of the freedom of the individual and his responsibility to society, guaranteed conditions for the constant

growth of the peoples' prosperity and the fitting development of their national cultures, and the creation of a new climate of morality and human cooperation.

Indeed, these lofty goals are worthy of efforts on our part to approach all our problems, including contentious ones, constructively and not to reject compromises that are dictated not by dogmatic ideas, but by the arguments of reason and the interests of real people. [Inkeles ends]

From the editorial office: In publishing Yu. Inkeles's article the editorial office deems it necessary to note that the author has adopted a rather original approach to the term "Facts are Stubborn Things," arbitrarily interpreting many of its propositions and sometimes attributing to G. Shmelev views that he did not express in his article.

By inventing certain conclusions on G. Shmelev's behalf, the author himself is basically doing what he accuses G. Shmelev of doing: imposing his own positions and his own solutions concerning the peasant question. After all, the right to choose the forms and methods of economic management of the land should ultimately belong to the peasants alone. We hope they will put an end to this dispute.

Shevardnadze Writes Article for KOMMUNIST

PM290112Z90 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2nd Jun 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] "The central political problem of socioeconomic development in the immediate future is evident: the question of authority. In the year ahead it will determine practical social movement." This is a quotation from the editorial article "Socialist Dynamism and the Political Party" which opens the second issue of KOMMUNIST.

It includes an article by E. Shevardnadze which analyzes the scientific principles of modern diplomacy and outlines the areas of international cooperation requiring substantial scientific reinforcement.

During the congress' work the editorial office was visited by People's Deputies G. Gumbaridze, A. Denisov, R. Lazarev, G. Lisichkin, and N. Travkin. They shared their impressions of the congress and replied to a question on how Communists feel in our parliament. The account of the meeting is headed "The People's Deputy's Stance."

The pieces "Ural: Possible Solutions" and "The Chernobyl Syndrome in Nuclear Power: What Is To Be Done?" suggest an intrinsic link between the economy, ecology, the democratic foundations of modern life, and people's social comfort.

The journal continues to print items under the "Notes in the Margin" rubric. On this occasion the physicist and scientific historian G. Gorelik polemicizes with the well-known Soviet mathematician I. Shafarevich, who has expounded in the press his view of the possible ways civilization may develop.

G. Gyse, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany/Party of Democratic Socialism, V. Shyrd, president of Czechoslovakia, and V. Claus, one of the leaders of the 1968 "Prague Spring," are represented in a large selection of items headed "East Europe: The Road to Catharsis."

Editor Examines Concepts on Russian Nationalism

PM290115Z90 Rome L'UNITA' in Italian 2nd Jun 90 p 12

[Interview with YURI KARYAKIN, editor Stanislav Kunyayev by Enzo Bianco in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"The empire has lost its great spirit, and this is why it is in a state of crisis. But the country's soul still exists. It is alive, and it is here. Mother Russia has preserved it because only Russia is eternal," Karyakin told me. [passage omitted]

[Bianco] Why has Russian nationalism reawakened just now, after 70 years?

[Karyakin] Your question is mistaken, to start with. Nationalism is for small peoples, who are afraid of disappearing. The Russians are a great people.

[Bianco] So what would you call this ultra-Russian feeling that is again making itself felt in the country?

[Karyakin] By its real name: Sense of homeland. Patriotism founded the great Russian state and held it together. This is the word—not force. Many peoples joined the tsar's empire to save their existence. Russia as salvation, not oppression. It was a kind of state internationalism, a policy of assimilation and guaranty that has enabled this state to survive for 1,000 years, while the empires of the West—from Charlemagne to the Reich—have disintegrated countless times. Without a sacramental principle, such survival is impossible.

[Bianco] Where does this sacramentality lie?

[Karyakin] In the Russian spirit, that is, in the people's culture and feeling. This spirit is stronger than blood, because it combines different populations and peoples. Pushkin had Ethiopian blood. Dostoevskiy, Polish. Yeltsin's mother was Polish, and Zhukovskiy's was Turkish. But the spirit unified and prevailed, as in Christianity. Indeed, Russia speaks as Christ did: Come unto me and share my spirit.

[Bianco] But this sharing is often imposed by force. Is this not the reason for the present national revolts?

[Karyakin] This is indeed our tragedy. The revolt of the nationalist movements conflicts with our historical mission, smashes something that we considered permanently consolidated. Russia's ability to conquer through

assimilation has failed. This has happened because Russia had fallen sick, its culture is corrupt, its spirit has weakened, and the people have lost their capacity for hegemony.

[Mauro] When did the sickness start?

[Kamyshev] With the crisis of the Russian sense of homeland, at the start of the century. More precisely, with the first revolution in 1905.

[Mauro] Are you saying that the state of the Soviets was unable to preserve the heritage of the state of the tsars?

[Kamyshev] The Soviet state distorted and transformed it. The state of every dimension lies in the ideological dogma whereby all peoples must be assimilated by the new Soviet people. This stems from the Marxist proposition that the proletarians do not have a homeland, whereas the force of the empire was supposed to giving everyone a homeland. But Marx wrote for the British workers, his is a Western conception, unacceptable to us. The West has never understood Russia's specificity, even since Marx. In fact with the revolution Russia accomplished someone else's history.

[Mauro] But if the decline of the Russian spirit began with Lenin, why is its revival only occurring 70 years later?

[Kamyshev] Because the force of oppression that imposed the dogma on us is now dead. According to this dogma, the Soviet state will be born, and oppression imposed this as a Russian ideological principle, whereas in fact it was anti-Russian. Only once, during the war, Stalin discarded dogmas and appealed for patriotism against the Nazis. It is no coincidence that he was victorious, and even today we still talk about the "patriotic war." But that lasted 3 years. Then we went back to waiting for the new man, until the Brezhnev era.

[Mauro] Be frank. Do you mean that the nationalist revolts are the fault of post-Brezhnevism, that is, of perestroyka?

[Kamyshev] There is a decree by Nekrasov about serfs that reads: they freedom. It says, more or less, that the great chain broke, but that its two ends struck the peasant and his master, killing them both. Well, perestroyka has broken another chain, which is still flailing about cruelly, and I do not know where and when it will end.

[Mauro] Can your Russia—a prisoner of its "mission" and "destiny"—survive without the empire?

[Kamyshev] What happened in Krasnoyarsk, when the members of the nomenklatura called to the Caucasus rebelled, is enlightening. The instinct of survival is emerging—a new Russian egoism, natural and salutary. Because, like every invalid, Russia must now think first of itself, then of others.

[Mauro] What can Russia demand from the USSR?

[Kamyshev] It must demand, first, that the 8-70 billion gross every year by the Russian republic to the other republics be spent here on its own territory. Russia's birth rate is the lowest anywhere in the country and must be increased; standards of higher education are very low, and this must be remedied. Furthermore, Russia must improve the restoration of morality through the revival of Christian religious life; it must educate the people again in the idea of corruption and conservation. Wise heirs, as if we believe the West, which is playing an ugly game with us. Whenever yields to Western temptation fails to realize that in fact we risk becoming a Latin American conglomerate united by a single language but with a Third World-type state power.

[Mauro] Is this Russian nostalgia for strength?

[Kamyshev] Yes, it is the defense of the spirit. Many of us do not accept the common European home outlined by Gorbachev. It makes no sense, because two-thirds of the USSR are in Asia. In any case our common home already exists: It is Russia, and its board is in Moscow.

[Mauro] Should this great Russian home house even the increasingly evident anti-Semitism of Pamyat?

[Kamyshev] Pamyat is an uncultured but very patriotic movement that could become useful.

[Mauro] Does it never occur to you that this missionary Russian spirit could prove disturbing to its neighbors?

[Kamyshev] I know that Russia can save the country, but first it must save itself. The ground must be cleared of the wreckage of the totalitarian regime: the rulers must be swept away. Then the grass of the Russian motherland will be reborn again.

Anthology of Yakovlev Speeches, Writings Published

PM021112Mar90 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Political Realism of Perestroyka"]

[Text] The works that make up the book by A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Realism—the Realm of Perestroyka: Selected Speeches and Articles," were created in the eighties. A considerable number of the items in the collection, published by the Political Literature Publishing House, are published for the first time.

The chronological sequence of the items takes readers back to historical dates and events which had to be reevaluated at a crucial moment in our society's development, to many milestones of the past decade. The author focuses attention on problems of perestroyka and public consciousness and defense and confirmation in international relations. Perestroyka and renewal in the world, in our society, in the party—these are the main themes of the articles and speeches.

The book is intended for a wide range of readers.

Visa Official Discusses Emigration Figures

PM[illegible] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 7

[Interview with B. Kuznetsov, head of USSR MVD Visa, Permit, and Passport Work Administration, in response to reader's letter by A. Rudenko under rubric "Dialogue: Readers' Index, Position, Dispute": "Emigration From USSR"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter; date, place not specified]

[Text] "Could you tell us how many Soviet citizens emigrated last year, why they left the USSR, and what nationalities they represent?"
[Signed] F. Shatrenko, Kursk Oblast

[Kuznetsov] According to preliminary figures, in 1989 internal affairs organs gave [illegible] Soviet citizens permission to leave for permanent residence in other countries. In comparison with 1988 this represented an increase of 2.1 times. I must point out that 401 people voluntarily abandoned their original decision and stayed in the country despite having our "OK" to go.

The Visa and Registrations Administration mainly processes exit documents for four countries: Israel, the FRG, the United States, and Greece.

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Israel; Column B—FRG; Column C—United States; Column D—Greece. Minus signs before figures indicate decrease, plus signs indicate in excess of]

	A	B	C	D
Number				
Processed (MP)				
(Dynamics)	(42)	90.7	(2.6	(3)
Increase Compared				
With 1988				
Times	3.8	1.8	(1.3	0.8

The table needs comment. The emigration procedure is currently determined by the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 28 August 1986, which effectively cites family reunification as the sole reason for emigration and specifies the level of kinship that provides grounds for obtaining authorization to accept the summons from a relative abroad (for instance, no "more distant" relationship than brother and sister and so on for the FRG). For that reason German nationals (I would remind you that there are approximately 2 million of them in the USSR) go to the FRG, Jews go to Israel (since most of them go to the United States and other countries), and ethnic Greeks go to Greece. Approximately 0.5 percent of the those applying to go to the United States are Armenians repatriated earlier [sentence as published]

Something of the order of 10,000 people have left the USSR for religious reasons. They are mainly Baptists and other evangelical Christians who presented invitations from their brothers in faith abroad—from foreign citizens. A very small proportion of the emigrants (fewer than 100 people) are people who submitted a personal application to the Supreme Soviet Presidium asking to renounce Soviet citizenship. If the request is met, the Visas and Registrations Administration does not impede their exit—after all, these people consider themselves people without citizenship.

There is obviously still a trend toward an increase in emigration. According to figures from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, last October (the beginning of the U.S. fiscal year) 237,000 Soviet citizens submitted applications for an entry visa. In my opinion, emigration itself is quite natural—it exercises people's right to choose their place of residence freely as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and enshrined in the final document of the Vienna meeting, which the Soviet Union also signed. I hope that the Supreme Soviet will soon adopt a Law on Soviet Citizens' Entry and Exit and thus bring Soviet legislation into line with the USSR's international commitments.

Commentator Views Succession Problem

PM[illegible] Moscow LITERATURA in Russian 29 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 7

[George Mikkonen article under rubric "Behind Lines of Lenin's Writing": "There Is Nothing Worse Than Mistrust of a Nation"]

[Excerpts] We are living through very difficult times. There are ethnically motivated killings and unrestrained clashes in peacetime. Wherever temperaments are too fiery, there is a "creeping" deepening, not of understanding and trust, which some people suddenly lack, but of misunderstanding and mistrust. And although we cling to the conviction that common sense, basic values, and the long experience of living side by side will prevail despite everything and will point an impasse, our alarm is nonetheless not subsiding.

We know now how all this built up and came about and we hope that everything will be done to ensure that the Soviet federation becomes a truly good home for its peoples. Everyone agrees that it must be transformed and that its entire potential must be brought into play. Essentially, this work, which brooks no fuss or oversimplification, has already begun. It is part of perestroika, and the economy, power, and culture are all connected with it.

Many of our difficulties are not new. This includes difficulties in interethnic relations. It could be said that they were born before the Soviet era. The country's ethnic composition even at that time was highly colorful, the level of peoples' development varied, and relations between them were often strained. There was no escaping this legacy and therefore the transformations which lay ahead were not twice but ten times as complex. To do, too, any word that is said is echoed in a good

hundred languages and its impact on the interests of peoples, republics, and the whole country is far from unequivocal. The way out now, just as then, when we were only embarking on our road, lies in developing the Soviet federation **in a Leninist fashion.**

What does this mean and why have we strayed so far from it?

At present, while commemorating V.I. Lenin, it is appropriate to focus on what he achieved in the most complex sphere of human relations—the nationality question. Proclaiming federation as the state system of the Russian republic immediately after February 1917, Lenin also put forward the key principle for the solution of the most tangled question in history—the nationality question: the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession. Even his friends failed to understand him at first. Zinovyevskiy and Bukharin opposed him at the April conference. Pyatakov went so far as to proclaim the slogan: "Away with borders!" The national state, he claimed, is a past stage. Lenin, on the other hand, believed that "the national state is a standard concept in the historical experience of the world." Pyatakov quipped: Self-determination under capitalism is impossible, and under socialism superfluous. Lenin parried: That is just as absurd as saying: Democracy under socialism is superfluous... "We want," he wrote, "a free union and therefore we must recognize the freedom of secession (without freedom of secession the union cannot be described as free)... mistrust must be dispelled by **actions** rather than words." [words between dashlines published in italics]

However the phrase "right up to and including secession" is closely tied up with the expediency of such a step. Just as, incidentally, a union. This is something that has to be especially carefully weighed up, measured, and pondered. Our own times provide an example. People in Lithuania and Estonia are openly speaking about possible secession from the USSR federation. However, what is needed for autonomous navigation, as M.S. Gorbachev aptly put it, are maps, fuel reserves, and solid conditions. Is all this available? Or have people simply been put on a raft and set adrift?

It goes without saying that we must not close our eyes to the fact that the principle of self-determination of nations has not been provided in our country with a mechanism for the secession of a republic from the union. People try to explain this by pleading that since 1922 no one has declared an intention to secede from the USSR. People have stopped taking the phrase "right up to and including secession" seriously. But since the right exists, there should also be a mechanism for its implementation.

It is currently being elaborated. A whole range of legislative provisions is also being considered which will strengthen the political sovereignty of the national formations, enhance their economic independence, and help to untangle the knots in the spiritual sphere. This sort of work cannot be completed in a week or two. The main thing is that it is being done. Maybe, we will at last move on from listing the mistakes of the past, which have long been listed in detail, to building new ties and relations. There will be no more need for dismantling—we will begin to build in peace. [passage omitted]

...Blood is being spilled. Is irreparable damage being caused? True, for the victim of a pogrom, for a person whose reason is clouded by hatred, there is irreparable damage. Life loses its value when people forget about human values. In all ages good neighborliness has been revered. But when neighbors turn their backs on each other...

It is unbearable to experience and watch this. People lose faith that it will all come right. "There is nothing worse than the mistrust of a nation," Lenin wrote. Persuading, showing respect, stressing attention, agreeing to concessions to make up for past grievances... He spoke about the sense of equality in relations with people of another nationality and about the fact that this sense must not be injured—"not even through carelessness or as a joke."

In the light of the nobility of Lenin's thought, how can we not reflect on the finer points of practical politics, on the fact that the consciousness of most of our people rebels against hatred and cruelty, against everything that dismembers us. And as we want to believe that the very essence of our life will not permit us under any circumstances, will stop us from dividing the country and splitting society according to the color of people's eyes or the sound of their names.

Editor Outlines Effects of Paper Shortage

90UM0023A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 8, 17 Jun 1989 pp 6-7

[Article by N. Zyatkov, first deputy to editor in chief of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: "Laboratory of Perestroyka"]

[Text] A series of items came in under this rubric last year. We will mention (and for new readers we will explain briefly) that ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, by its example, illustrated the progress of perestroyka, and it showed how powerful the old ways are that led the country into crisis. The problems of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY are typical for many collectives: difficulties in acquiring legal and economic independence, the introduction of cost accounting, the creation of normal work conditions, extension of the borders of glasnost and pluralism, and the fight against the command-administrative dictate and the "telephone" law.

So this was taking place, we understood, although it was a little more difficult for us than for someone else, that we "were calling for fire on ourselves." But, on the other hand, it is also easier for us, inasmuch as there is no huge managerial pyramid over us, under which a majority of the collectives find themselves. Therefore, as one reader

worse. If nothing really turns out well here, then what can a person do who is in the boondocks...

We have written about what turned out and what did not, and we will not repeat it. The main thing is that, by a decision of the board of the All-Union Society "Znanie," ARGUMENTY I FAKTY were granted an independent status. We will explain about today's "experiments" that are being conducted in the "perestroyka laboratory" of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. For the past month, the editorial office has literally been in a state of siege. The fact is that not all subscribers received an issue of the weekly. We present our apologies to the readers for any inconveniences we might have caused. Believe me, comrades, the editorial staff is doing everything within its power.

Causes

They are not original. It is the shortage of paper and printing capacity. We will begin with the latter. Until recently, this was not felt in the sphere of newspaper production. It was not long ago that readers were even being forced to subscribe to newspapers. True, even today some publications that find themselves in particularly good circumstances are asking people to subscribe. But in the years of perestroyka, the demand for the honest printed word has increased without coercion, and a country of "those who subscribe" really became a country with one of the largest subscripts in the world.

And then it turned out here that material support of ideology does not withstand the test of time. In the example of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, it became apparent in the fact that, because of a full workload, not even one printing establishment takes on the 500,000 circulation for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Another 2 million copies are literally hanging by a thread in other regions of the country. In all cases, our appeals to printing establishments are not bringing results.

The reader has a right to ask: And why doesn't the weekly build its own printing base and not put the blame on others? The question is a fair one, and it is exactly on this path that we will seek a solution in the future. We will note only that up to now the newspaper did not have any real opportunity for this.

The fact should also be presented realistically that in the past a newspaper printing base was established essentially as a party base. The fact remains that among the monopoly producers of various kinds of commodities, there are also monopoly producers in the printing of newspapers.

Moreover, it should be said honestly that, now as before, the majority of publications are produced precisely on this basis. Why do some continue to use it without any hindrance and others are kept out because of a departmental barrier? It probably would be fair if the burden of problems was spread out evenly among all publications.

A printing plant, as is known, is built on some kind of resources. In the present case, even not referring to the slogan "The people and the party are one," it can be said that the resources after all are the people's. Party dues and income from subscriptions are the basis of these resources. But among the subscribers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, the majority are members of the party, and this means that they have already made their monetary contribution to the creation of a printing base. They are also its owners.

Options

Concerning social justice in the distribution of newspaper, there the situation and the prospects for ARGUMENTY I FAKTY are more than somber. The year has just started, and the weekly has received only one-third of the paper it needs from the paper combines. This means that tomorrow many printers can stop printing ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. According to estimates by specialists, the shortage of newsprint for newspapers in the country will be about 200,000 tons. Despite the fact that the circulation of a number of publications has dropped, paper has not been freed, inasmuch as new newspapers have appeared, and not only in the localities, but in the center also, and a number of publications have even increased their volumes[*]. A logical question arises. Why is it necessary to aggravate the shortage, which will inevitably evoke the irritation and indignation of the readers with publications that are published with interruptions? Is this not an attempt to repeat the situation of the year before last and to force subscription and glasnost not by an administrative dictate, but seemingly, "in the name of the people?" In saying this, we are not coming out, as it might seem to some, against new publications. By no means. Every publication should find itself under equal conditions and feel the shortage of paper in equal measure. Where is it said and who said that we should have privileged publications and second-rate publications? And, perhaps, also second-rate readers? Why transfer the principle of special distribution to the sphere of spiritual food?

And more about farmers. Thirty-five percent of the profit of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and millions of rubles of readers' money are transferred to the state budget. It must be assumed that this money first and foremost should go to the establishment of a printing establishment and the output of paper. Because all other expenditures of the state have been financed by the reader with that part of his pay that was withheld, but which was sent to the budget through the enterprise. He also made his contribution when he paid income tax and the turnover tax on purchasing commodities.

Moreover, the truthful reader gave his money for the subscription to the state in an advance last year, and this money is lying not in the editorial office but in the state bank, and the state also uses it in circulation.

Obviously, the resolution of all problems is in the construction of new printing establishments and paper

continues. In the USSR there are, per capita, about 3 hectares of forest, and in the United States, about 0.8, but the production of paper is 22 kg and 143 kg, respectively.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY is taking this position, and in forthcoming issues we will share our plans with the readers. But time is needed for their implementation.

But what about now—should we not increase the number of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY subscribers? But, as we were informed in "Soyuzpechat," "an alarming trend in the growth of circulation is continuing this very year. Therefore, we ask you to share your copy of the weekly as much as possible with friends and colleagues who desire to subscribe to ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

One of the ways out of this situation would be to return subscriptions to those ARGUMENTY I FAKTY subscribers who are unhappy with us. We consider this quite normal under conditions when we cannot guarantee everyone regular and timely delivery owing to the aforementioned circumstances.

For the purposes of regulating the use of paper, we recommend to all the country's publishers that they curtail the retail sale of newspapers and journals and reduce the volume or the number of copies. We hope that the reader will understand this step.

We propose to reduce to a minimum the purchase of paper abroad, and using these resources to acquire equipment for its production, and also printing equipment.

We appeal to the representatives of those oblasts (first and foremost central Russia) that receive ARGUMENTY I FAKTY from other cities. Try to find a capability for printing the newspaper in a local print shop, even if it takes a week.

We appeal to our leaders—military who have their own printing base, with a request to go further in the way of conversion, and to take under their own tutelage the minimum circulation that is acceptable to them.

And, finally, we are ready to listen to all proposals on the given problem from journalist colleagues, printers, and publishers. In a word, to all of those who are ready to express constructive ideas.

P.S. Such are the results of the latest experiments in the "perestroyka laboratory" of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. The crisis situation in the paper and newspaper industries, monopoly, and the lack of a flexible mechanism of cooperation prompts the sad thought that, as in the years of stagnation, it is not advantageous to work well. It is turning out that, except for the subscribers, no one needs the growing circulation of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY...

New Newspaper, EXPRESS, To Be Published

LD2602194090 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] A new newspaper for Russia. It's title is EXPRESS. The pages of this publication will become a platform for dialogue between the population and specialists, between public ecological movements and groups. Virtually all the information in the weekly will be commented on from various viewpoints and stances. The initial number of copies of the EXPRESS IS 250,000.

Evening Newspaper Inaugurated in Krasnoyarsk

OW0102213090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Yu. Kozlova video report, from "120 Minutes" program]

[Excerpts] Another report from the press world. Readers in Krasnoyarsk have received a new newspaper. It is called VECHERNIY KRASNOYARSK. [EVENING KRASNOYARSK.] [Video cuts to Krasnoyarsk street scenes, newspaper kiosk, Kozlova talking to sales girl]

[Kozlova] For hundreds of kilometers, the morning begins with a newspaper kiosk. In the race for the news we too took our place in the line. SVYAZNOY, BYULLETEN, DIALOG, KRASNOYARSKIYE PROFSOYUZY, RADIO VECHERNIYE I TELEVIDENIYE, and NEDELYA. [Passage omitted]

Those who say that there are many new newspapers and newspapers in general in Krasnoyarsk than there are journalists are right and, to some extent, this is true. New newspapers such as DIALOG, DOBROGA I MY, KULTURA, SPORT, OTDYKH, KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY, KRASNOYARSKIYE PROFSOYUZY, and finally the newspaper VECHERNIY KRASNOYARSK, which we would like to introduce to you. Of course, it was not available at the kiosk in the morning, it was sold out in the evening, and so we had to go to the editorial office. [Video shows modern 12-story office building]

The editorial office of the city newspaper VECHERNIY KRASNOYARSK occupies the 12th floor of the new newspaper building. Here the city's leading newspapers, the party and youth papers, are already operating. This is very symbolic, as it means the competition is right next door. [passage omitted in which an editor speaks about the new paper]

Citizen Sentenced for Spying for Mujahidin

PM2302102590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Established by Investigation"]

[Text] The trial of USSR citizen Abdulkhamid Davlatov has confirmed facts of hostile activity against the Soviet

Union by Pakistani intelligence and special mujahidin groups from Afghan territory. The trial has ended in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court. One month ago Davlatov was charged with committing a particularly dangerous state crime: betraying the motherland, aiding a foreign state to conduct hostile activity against the USSR, illegally crossing the border, and swindling.

In June 1988 Davlatov illegally crossed the Soviet-Afghan border. Some time later he found himself among the mujahidin, whom he told that he was a supporter of the "jihad" holy war and was ready to cooperate against infidels. He was soon sent to Pakistan, where he was recruited by engineer Bashir, leader of an intelligence center and, at the same time, deputy leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan."

Davlatov spent 4 months at the intelligence center's base. Before being infiltrated, the new agent received weapons, money, and written instructions. His task included gathering data of a political intelligence nature and inciting Soviet citizens to commit particularly dangerous state crimes. The agent's transfer was carried out "normally," and he at once came ... under observation by security officers.

State security workers traced the whole chain of the enemy-hired "guest's" ties.

The materials of the preliminary investigation conducted by the republic KGB received full confirmation in court. The traitor was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment in a strict-regime correctional labor colony, with confiscation of property.

Facts, Figures on Internal Troops Discussed

90UM0074A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jan 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, commander of internal forces of the USSR MVD, by M. Gurkovskiy: "Internal Forces: Facts as Opposed to Invention"; place, date not given]

[Text] "The internal forces are a subdivision of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], which earlier received practically no mention, and, naturally, there was no interest in them. Today, when anarchistic relations have become exacerbated and instances of group hooliganism are being encountered, reports from various regions of the country are making increasingly frequent mention of the internal forces. But nowhere in the press have I come across an account of their strength, structure, deployment, and arms. But there are many rumors, even the most fantastic. Are these forces so secret that they cannot be described?" commodity researcher L. Chalkinskiy wrote us from Minsk.

One of our Moscow readers, G. Gorokhov, the Krasnodar sales assistants Z. Ogarkova, T. Lyalina, and O. Ivanchenko, A. Ogurtsova, driver at the Yuzhgaz Commercial Transport Depot, L. Matsedonova, cleaner at Baku's Store 11, and many others inquire about the internal forces. Our readers' questions are answered by Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, commander of internal forces of the USSR MVD.

[Gurkovskiy] How many servicemen of the internal forces are deployed in the country's hot spots? It is said that there are hundreds of thousands.

[Shatalin] In Armenia there are 1,800; in Azerbaijan, 3,600; in Georgia, 4,500; in Uzbekistan, 2,300. And outside of the places of deployment there are 16,700 altogether.

[Gurkovskiy] What is the expenditure on the internal forces? Astronomical sums, rumor has it.

[Shatalin] Roughly 6.1 billion.

[Gurkovskiy] Would it not be better making the internal forces purely professional? This would most likely afford an opportunity for sharply increasing the combat readiness of each man.

[Shatalin] Transition to professional internal forces is not planned in the immediate future. Primarily because this would increase several times over the expenditure on their maintenance. We, like all the country's inhabitants, remember the state budget deficit. Besides financial expenditure, transition to professional units would require tens of thousands of apartments for the new officers and warrant officers. So we are trying to achieve high professionalism from the compulsory service soldiers.

[Gurkovskiy] How many men have been casualties in the clashes with extremists?

[Shatalin] The internal forces have in the performance of assignments in various regions with a difficult situation from February 1988 through the present sustained losses. Three men have died (Senior Police Lieutenant V. Nurekov, Officer Candidate V. Skopov, and Private Ye. Tymovskiy). Injuries and wounds of varying degree, firearm injuries included, have been sustained by 382 men (78 officers, 16 warrant officers, 31 officer candidates, and 641 soldiers and sergeants).

[Gurkovskiy] Are armed criminals encountered often, and is it necessary to pull the trigger?

[Shatalin] During the said period the troops, in conjunction with the internal affairs authorities, have confiscated several thousand firearms and 1,953 kg of explosives. Over 60,000 persons have been detained for offenses and for having broken the curfew. The forces have used their weapons on 81 occasions, only in the most extreme situations. All instances of the use of weapons have been found legitimate by the military prosecutor.

[Gumenyuk] Is the total number of police officers and peaceful inhabitants who have been casualties of the extremists known?

[Shmaliy] Some 130 police officers have been casualties, 9 have died. Some 300 peaceful inhabitants have been killed, and 360,000 persons have quit their permanent residences and become refugees.

[Gumenyuk] Is it true that only Russians serve in the internal forces?

[Shmaliy] Representatives of all the country's nations and nationalities serve in the internal forces, as in the Soviet Army. We endeavor to ensure that in each republic representatives of the nationalities residing on its territory serve therein. Knowledge of the language and customs helps a person get his bearings better in difficult situations and disposes the local inhabitants in his favor. There has not been a single instance of a soldier of ours entering into a criminal conspiracy with insurgents.

[Gumenyuk] There are rumors that the internal forces are prohibited contacts with local inhabitants.

[Shmaliy] On the contrary, however difficult the conditions, we necessarily hold meetings in the industrial outfits. We endeavor to show people that it is not some bestial "commandos" who have arrived but the same kind of boys as their sons. Arrived to protect them. Such meetings were held even during the hottest days of Fergana.

[Gumenyuk] Are internal forces committed to regions where strikes are under way, as a means of pressure on the strikers?

[Shmaliy] There has been nothing of the sort nor is such planned. Our goal is to safeguard citizens' constitutional rights.

Labor Camp Hostage Incident Reported

PM231115.90 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent N. Mironov report: "Hostages Freed"]

[Text] Smolnikovo (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast), 30 Jan—Shots were fired Friday morning at the Smolnikovo Strict Regime Corrective Labor Camp. Three dangerous recidivist criminals were killed in a clash with Ministry of Internal Affairs staffers.

The criminals, armed with sharpened metal spikes, broke into the medical unit, took two nurses hostage, and, threatening reprisals, started demanding that the camp administration give them weapons and a car to escape in.

The talks broke down, and a snatch squad, bursting into the premises, freed the hostages after a brief clash. The bandits managed to wound a nurse and attempted to impale an officer on a spike. But he was saved by his flak jacket.

Tense Situation in Gyandzha Described

MK310830 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by N. Belan, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent in Gyandzha, by telephone, 16 January: "There Is Hope"]

[Text] Somehow this picture—battered vehicles on the shoulder of the road near Gyandzha—did not tally with the calm slumbering silence, the spring-like hot sun, and the steaming field. But there was a very tense situation here Monday evening. Everything began when individual groups of militantly inclined citizens attempted to seize seven tanks. They justified their actions by saying that detachments from the Armenian side that are equipped with the latest weapons are making sorties against Azerbaijani villages, while we, they say, have only hunting rifles. By order of the commander, the tanks were pulled out in time. So their seizure was not possible.

It would have ended here, but it was learned in the city at that time that platform cars with four tanks had arrived at the station next to Gyandzha. These tanks, as I learned later, were being returned to the unit after a plant overhaul. It was these that ended up in the hands of the crowd that hastened there. Immediately people were found, apparently from among former tank operators, and they sat behind the controls of the combat vehicles.

The situation that developed was unpredictable. The attempts of the command elements of the unit to resolve the situation through negotiation were not effective. Then the only possible decision in such a situation was made. Several combat vehicles rushed to the area where the seized tanks were—before they left in an unknown direction. Because of the danger the group that was issued deployed vehicles along the sides, blocking the road. They were able to overtake three tanks and return them to the unit, and the military still do not know the fate of the fourth. A search is being made.

I spoke with residents of Gyandzha, including with those in the headquarters of the People's Front. An overwhelming majority of the people I talked to are sensible people, and they sharply criticize the actions of those of their countrymen who went to seize combat equipment. Such actions by "hotheads" does not at all stabilize the situation, and they are directed at getting the army and the residents of Gyandzha to clash. I also heard these kinds of opinions: Which of the responsible persons is so irresponsibly dispatching military freight to Gyandzha, not taking the tense situation into account? Not long ago a special train with ammunition arrived, and there was an incident around it, and several shells have still not been found, and now they have brought tanks. This

excites the city, gives rise to absurd rumors, and voluntarily or involuntarily provokes into action those who are looking for any opportunity to seize weapons.

But, today, conversations among the local population about this event have receded into the background. The center of attention is the Ukaz of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerning the declaration of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and certain other regions. At present people know about it from radio and central television reports. The military political workers displayed enormous efficiency. That very morning they printed leaflets with the text of the Ukaz, and they were distributed to host army subunits and to the Gyandzhin residents, including to representatives of the People's Front. Now, as I am writing these lines, the citizens are becoming thoroughly familiar with the Ukaz, but I know: The attitude toward it is ambiguous. Although almost everyone agrees on one thing: It is the opportunity to stabilize the situation, and to stop the bloodshed and the interethnic dissension. But this possibility has to be used wisely, not going too far and not doing something stupid. It is a question of the practical implementation of measures that are set forth in the Ukaz.

Lieutenant Burmayevskiy, a worker in the politics department, has just returned from a meeting with residents of Gyandzhin.

"Our conversation on the substance of the Ukaz was long and difficult," he explained. "We discussed it hotly, and people did not restrain their emotions, but in the end the majority arrived at the opinion: Even though the measures are late, they are absolutely necessary both for the Armenian and the Azerbaijani people.

Meanwhile, the situation in Gyandzhin remains complicated. The city is blockaded by self-defense detachments, as these people call themselves. There are attempts to penetrate the military airfield. A demand has been made: That neither airplanes nor helicopters land on it or take off from it.

And also: Today I was on the border of the Khanlarskiy and Shamkhorskiy Rayons. I heard firing, and it smelled of powder smoke in the mountains, but in comparison with yesterday it is much quieter here. Skirmishes occur only in some places. What is this, has armed confrontation started to subside? I would like very much to believe this.

Reprieve Measure Adopted for Draft Dodgers

LD3101224990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The first day of work of the all-union conference of leading officials of the judicial authorities, courts, and bar associations ended in Moscow today. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov interviewed Justice Lt.Gen. Anatoliy Ivanovich Muranov, chief of the directorate of military tribunals of the USSR Defense Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] Anatoliy Ivanovich, what is the practice of military tribunals today concerning youths of recruitment age when they are presented with an assignment order and they appear at the military registration and enlistment office. Here they already fall under the jurisdiction of military tribunals. I know that recently there have many instances of soldiers who have just arrived in the army absconding from the enlistment office.

[Muranov] well, such a practice has not taken shape with us inasmuch, as you noted correctly, this has started happening only recently. Especially for ethnic reasons, instances of draft dodging by persons of Caucasian nationality, with the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia, have become more frequent in our country. The practice is such that military tribunals' attitude to them is just like the one adopted to all servicemen as regards assessment and determination of the nature of the crime committed. In determining the specific measures of punishment, they take into account that the draftee has not yet done his military service and has not taken his military oath; that is why our approach to him is a lenient one, prescribing conditional punitive measures or allowing a reprieve [s otsrochkoy ispolneniya prigovora]. This punitive measure—I mean reprieve—has been adopted quite recently, but from our view point and from the viewpoint of military tribunals it is effective. A conditional punitive measure is a punitive measure of long standing. In our view it is also an effective measure. [passage omitted]

Parallels With 1980's Polish Crisis Viewed

PM1901120190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 pp 2-3

[M. Botyan "Viewpoint": "Haven't We Been Through This?"]

[Text] I went to Poland from a land of stagnation. I worked for nearly 4 and ½ years as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's own correspondent, and when I came home it was to the land of perestroyka. For nearly 18 months now I have been dogged by the thought that I am watching a repeat showing of a movie, with such familiar images....

All This Happened....

I turned to my Polish reminiscences again, looked through the file of newspaper cuttings, and read my diaries and old notebooks. I compared them with what is happening at home. Boy, how similar it all is! Sometimes down to fine details. Can you believe it, in 1981, 1 month before martial law was declared, the paper EXPRESS WIECZORNY carried a mention of a shortage of soap and toothpaste....

The government talks about stages of reform, about a sharp increase in consumer goods production soon. Every day I hear cheerful news on the television about the setting up of joint ventures. As in Poland, girls in movies, on television, and on calendars on sale in underground walkways are getting bolder and bolder. Young people are into mass video culture. All this happened.... The talk about stages of reform turned out to be merely an armchair invention. Governments came and went, but the market situation changed hardly at all. The joint ventures were only after a quick profit for a limited number of people and did practically nothing for Polish technology. People stopped gazing at the daring ladies a long time ago....

I am haunted by the thought: When are we going to bid a final farewell to our traditional unobtrusiveness and start considering other people's experience? Not only positive, but negative as well. The latter is even more important. Because it enables you to learn from others' mistakes, not your own.

Substantial books and doctoral theses have been and will, I am sure, continue to be written about the latest Polish crisis and its future development. At the time, August 1980, the Polish events were like a bolt from the blue as far as we were concerned. What, strikes in a socialist state? And such big ones! In fact, the press had been printing reassuring pieces about the way the fraternal state's working people were building socialism. Did the powers that be not know, not sense what was happening in the country beyond the Bug. They knew, of course, but the knowledge was for official use only.

The explosion of August 1980 was not a sudden event. I remember the beginning of May 1980. I went to Plock and Sieradz Voivodships as a member of a Minsk Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Oblast Committee [Obkom]. Our friends welcomed us with typical Slavic hospitality. But a strange sense of unease communicated itself even to someone who was inexperienced in politics, who was in the country for the first time. Our friends' outwardly charming smiles could not conceal it. You sensed that something very important, very painful was being deliberately ignored, something that was gnawing at our interlocutors' minds and hearts. It was at one meeting that a girl named Ewa, secretary of the Sieradz Polish Socialist Youth Union, literally exploded. And how! "Do you seriously believe in Polish-Soviet friendship? There is no friendship! You imposed socialism on us! We go on and on about the crisis of capitalism, but the crisis is here! You can't buy nails without waiting in line!" Indicating her colleagues, Ewa continued: "Do you believe they think otherwise? Everyone thinks it now!"

The temperature was obviously high in Polish society. And 2 months later, in July, the first symptoms of disease appeared. There were strikes in the city of Lublin. The strikers were pacified somehow and the country's leadership serenely dispersed to foreign parts, on vacation. Soon the Polish August arrived.... Gdansk rebelled, as did Szczecin and the miners of Silesia. I was not yet working in Poland and was dependent on newspaper articles and eyewitness accounts to give me an idea of what was happening. But, as we know today, what happened 10 years ago in Poland was not merely an unpleasant aberration in the history of real socialism. Nine years later the miners of the Kuzbass and Donbass would demonstrate that there were many unfortunate similarities between the Gdansk shipbuilders' protest and that by our miners. The main slogan at the Gdansk shipyard at the time was: "Socialism yes, distortions no!" The explosion at the Mezhdurechensk pits was also sparked off by a crude distortion of such a fundamental principle of socialism as social justice, pay according to labor.

But it is important for us today not so much to compare the causes of the strikes as to compare the methods used to halt the conflicts. The three agreements signed by the Polish government side with the strikers have gone down in history—the Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie agreements. The Gdansk agreement, which examined 21 demands by the strikers, is the one most often mentioned in the press. Much has been written in Poland about this agreement. The next August arrives and the grim anniversary is marked by another clutch of articles. While differing in details, the assessments are basically the same. One journalist very accurately observed that those who signed the agreements had had very bad advisers. On the strikers' side there was a sense of strength, on the government side there was a sense of fear. As the well-known publicist K. Ciepiec wrote in the weekly POLITYKA in February 1982, for both sides "political thinking has prevailed over economic thinking from the very start." In what way did this express itself? The strikers hastily put forward and the government side immediately accepted excessive demands for increased pay, a shorter working week, and Saturdays off. People were surprised even in the West: How can it be, the Polish economy is in ruins yet they want to work even less. Neither side considered the economic consequences of the decisions.

The Gdansk "Style"

Now let us look at the protocol signed last summer by the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. More than 40 strikers' demands are acknowledged as just. In particular, on increasing rates of pay and regional rates. The newspaper KUZBASS notes that this will cost approximately R3 billion per year. But where do you find that sort of money? Who do you take it from? And the extra thousands of tonnes of meat and other products the Kuzbass has been promised—where does that come from? What will, for example, the oilmen of Tyumen Oblast and inhabitants of remote areas of Russia be saying tommorrow. They are not exactly wallowing in plenty either. But if the Kuzbass miners are given the chance to buy meat in exchange for sales of above-plan coal—that is a different matter.

Further on, the protocol says: "When examining plans for the allocation of funds in 1990 to improve supplies of foodstuffs and essential goods, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and RSFSR Trade Ministry are to ensure the priority allocation of funds in accordance with orders from Kemerovo Oblast trade organizations with a view to their maximum satisfaction." And what will the inhabitants of, for example, Tomsk Oblast, say? Or of Krasnoyarsk Kray? How are they going to get what is due to them? Also by striking?

One is even more perplexed by the following passage: "Mines, pits, and other industrial enterprises in the Kuzbass are to be given complete economic and legal autonomy in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association)." What strange things are going on! So it needs a strike for an adopted law to actually come into effect?

I think that the opinions of my Polish colleague Ciepiec will be interesting. He writes: "The socialist system differs from the capitalist system in that it can make pledges on pay and on demands of a social nature that it cannot afford. But only temporarily. Capitalists, when negotiating with strikers, can only promise things that the enterprise can afford. Otherwise there would have to be cuts and the labor collective would be doomed to unemployment. Therefore, trade unions in capitalist countries, when making their demands, never go past the point where the employer is ruined. They only demand that he limit his profits. The socialist employer can make excessive promises. He will not be ruined. But the concessions the working people get out of him will eventually be heaped upon the shoulders of the working people themselves, all working people, in fact. A certain section makes the demands, but everyone pays."

The August conflagration in Poland was only partly extinguished. The temporarily smothered flame soon began to spark off fires throughout the country. The demands of workers in Gdansk and Szczecin were met—why not us? Let's strike! Let's make demands! The state has the money, why should it skimp. But the state coffers were empty and Poland's external debt stood at several tens of billions of dollars. The only thing the state had the strength to do was to print faster. The appearance of a 5,000-zloty bill caused a sensation. Then there was one for 10,000, followed by one for 20,000. Only recently there was the 200,000-zloty bill. Life was getting harder all the time. Goods were disappearing from the shelves. The prestige of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] as the ruling party was in decline. Communists were handing in their party cards en masse. It was the same with youth organizations. Meanwhile, "Solidarity" grew strong. Ten million, that is, practically 50 percent of adults, joined it. No matter how distressing this may be, one needs plain speaking today: The Polish working class had lost confidence in its party—the united, workers' party. The [illegible] of trade unions collapsed like a house of cards.

What about our trade unions? The AUCCTU has held its sixth plenum. A very necessary plenum. But why did it have to wait until now, and why only a plenum and not a congress, an extraordinary one, in fact? Did people really not know before that the "school of communism" was totally impotent locally? Well, better late than never, I suppose. It is time to stop, to use the well-known satirist's words, protecting one's own interests against the working people.

Indeed, we are constantly extinguishing fires without bothering about preventing them. Even when we know that others are getting close. Only after the first strikes did we suddenly start talking about the need for a Law on Resolving Labor Disputes. Otherwise strikes can turn into blackmail. Let us look again at the bitter Polish experience. There strikes started to break out on any pretext. Something is wrong—OK, men, let's strike! Someone says the voivoda is no good—let's strike and demand a replacement! We don't like the government's latest resolution—let's strike again! The country was plunged into an orgy of strikes. The economy was on the floor. The government was forced to adopt an extremely unpopular measure and introduce martial law.

What about here? Strikes, outside the law, have sometimes made utterly absurd demands.

Form and Essence

Poland was the first country in the socialist world to open the sad chapter of strikes. We regarded it as something weird, as an aberration, a specifically Polish phenomenon. "The Poles do not want to work, so they strike"—this was the common view on the Moscow streetcar. Unfortunately, our politicians, sociologists, and economists could do no better. The imaginary comfort of developed socialism totally precluded anything like that happening here. No one wanted to brand himself as a prophet of doom. Will we ever learn to foresee and prevent explosive processes? I do not know. The miners of the Kuzbass, Donbass, and Vorkuta appear to have gone quiet. But is this quiet not worrying? Will others not follow their example? Why is the fuss more about distribution than about creation, which is impossible without labor discipline and normality (Please do not class the writer as a Stalinist. Real democracy has always gone hand in hand with discipline. Under Stalin there was iron discipline, but there was no democracy. Now it is the opposite—M. Botyan). But is it actually that quiet in the Kuzbass? Judging by articles in the paper KUZBASS, the moral climate at some mines has deteriorated, in fact.

Of course, our situation is not identical to the Polish situation of the eighties. But the difference is by no means in our favor. In the first place, Poland is practically a uninational country, with minorities constituting only 2 percent of the population. So the basis for inter-nation conflicts is lacking. Second, what happened in August 1980 was the fifth crisis. That is, the Poles periodically let off steam. It is our first crisis. We have

not let off steam for many decades. The more it accumulates, the bigger the explosion and the worse the burns....

The Polish crisis and ours have one common feature: Both peoples want a better life. The difference is that in Poland the grassroots have regularly given vent to their anger. On each occasion the people at the top have tried to calm them down, even stifle them. But in 1980 even the top people realized that they could not go on living like that. In fact, "Solidarity's" basic demands were the epitome of common sense: Democratization of society, pluralism, autonomy for enterprises, local self-management, monitoring from below of the authorities' actions, and so on. Typically, the majority of these demands formed part of the extensive program of socialist renewal and economic reform proposed in 1981 by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Our grassroots were so worn down by the command-and-administer system that they dared not voice their anger in an organized way and were simply afraid. To the credit of the party, or, rather, its top leaders, this protracted illness of society was diagnosed. Although very late in the day. April 1985 saw the start of the course of treatment, that is, perestroyka. And it was 4 years before the sick grassroots, in the shape of the miners, uttered a loud groan. Eventually, perhaps, we will all realize how serious it all is. We will realize that perestroyka is not a game of giveaway, but an irreversible process. If we fail we face the collapse of our final hopes and economic chaos.

Perestroyka is a serious test for the party, too. There is an example not far away, just across the Bug. No matter how much we try to play down what happened in Poland, it must be plainly stated that the PZPR lost. It lost as the ruling party.

It is for the political scientists to analyze why this happened and identify the necessary lessons. But there are errors which are immediately obvious and which, more important, are identifiable at home. The shortcomings include sluggishness, inconsistent actions, and the substitution, if one can call it that, of propaganda decisions for substantive ones. The election of a 30-year-old as PZPR Central Committee secretary was not followed at all by a general rejuvenation of cadres. The same team was endlessly shuffled around. A friend of mine, director of a state farm, talked about his involvement in setting up a young directors' club. The level of demands was set pretty high. The leader was no older than 35 and there were at least 500 people in his collective. There were little more than 10 of these directors. The party had a very low standing among young people. According to sociological research data, published in the collection entitled "Polish Youth 1986," only 6.1 percent of the respondents had confidence in the PZPR. The party had lost its youth base. This was mentioned more than once in debates conducted by the paper SZTANDAR MOLODYCH.

Instead of supporting an unexpected and unconventional youth initiative it would sometimes stifle it. Once I had an item prepared on the "Agrotechnika" youth firm, set up under the auspices of the Rural Youth Union. The guys worked miracles, because their talents had been unleashed under conditions of complete autonomy. But the pay did not please everyone. As a result, the firm's deputy director was expelled from the party and the former leader of the Rural Youth Union was expelled from the PZPR central auditing commission.

The Old Ways

You cannot start up and successfully operate an overhauled social and economic mechanism without changing the mechanics. Their sole selection criterion is professionalism. But 2 years ago, in the 8th year of Polish renewal, the kind of ideas expressed by a participant in a roundtable organized by the paper ZYCIE WARSZAWA were topical, apparently: "We must be honest and say that the economy is in a state of breakdown because the old ways of implementing economic power are obsolete and are ineffective. Therefore, it is necessary to get away from political criteria in the selection of leading cadres and admit nonparty experts to management."

It cannot be said that these experts did not exist. A nonparty minister even appeared in Poland and ministerial portfolios were allocated to members of the United Peasant and Democratic Parties. Yes, allocated. In a rather condescending way. Our PZPR friends were rather shocked when last summer Sejm deputies—leaders of these parties—openly betrayed the coalition with the communists and joined up with Lech Walesa. The photograph was published in many parts of the world. It grieves me to say it, but wasn't the PZPR itself to blame for this? How did the coalition come about? Did all its members feel equal?

I do not know whether our party will have to share power with other political forces. They are maturing already. It is already a reality in the Baltic area. If it comes to it, we should not forget our Polish friends' mistakes. The political struggle in our country is a fact. Informal movements are entering the scene, including extremists and nationalists. There are various currents in the party itself. Is it fitting to wage a struggle? Again I can see some distressing parallels. When martial law was lifted in Poland, "Solidarity" remained banned. The press continued to wrangle with the opposition leaders for several years. The method of struggle was simple: Latch on to a careless statement, accuse someone of having dubious foreign contacts, relish the domestic details. Lech Walesa was usually portrayed as a kind of simpleton spouting politics. The favorite way of debunking him was to make propaganda use of handy items that appeared occasionally in the Western press. But this only enhanced Walesa's prestige.

Now let us look at the way some of our party organs combatted unwelcome candidate USSR people's deputies. They were fighting not against an enemy on the other side of the barricade, but against those whom the people had chosen, even against comrades in the same party. The struggle was, on occasions, overt persecution.

What To Learn?

Perhaps I am being too frank, too straightforward in my assessments of Polish events. May my many friends in Poland forgive me. But I believe the time for mutual compliments is past. We must be frank. Recently the Polish press has been observing this rule, describing the major wounds in detail: Karabakh, the Baltic, the strikes. It is a fact. Why be offended?

Interesting things are happening. How often we say what we should not say. But how seldom we look at things that deserve attention. Take cooperatives. In particular, those engaged in public catering. What we get is mainly complaints about them. The actions of our skewer kings are positively infuriating the public. How many times have I traveled on Polish highways. There is a little restaurant every 50 kilometers or so. A cooperative, as a rule. Or one that has been leased out. A waiter dashes over as soon as you sit down at the table. More customers means more pay. I cannot remember any paper getting angry about cooperative prices. They are little different from state prices. Admittedly, everything is expensive at the moment. But that is not the point. A member of a Polish cooperative would never buy up the meat in the stores. It is supplied by the butcher who produces it. In the same way the confectioner supplies cakes and the peasant supplies vegetables and fruit. We, however, have put the cart before the horse. We have opened cooperative restaurants and cafes without solving the supply problems. You do not need to be a genius to see the consequences of that. But perhaps this situation suits certain people? How else can you explain it?

Or take supplies of fruit and vegetables for the country. Poland can definitely be called a fruit and vegetable Eldorado. The Poles have never heard of the invention called the vegetable depot. A peasant can go, for example, to Warsaw and sell his tomatoes himself, spending the day at the market. But usually he sends his produce to the wholesale market. He sells it to those whose task is purely commercial. The peasant than dashes off to his plot. There can be no speculation in this case, because the market is saturated.

How did the Poles come to have this vegetable market? There is nothing supernatural about it. They simply gave the truck gardener complete freedom. As you leave Warsaw you see hothouses and greenhouses everywhere, with two-story houses alongside. The truck gardeners are rich. As a result of their labors. Hard, exhausting work. One I know, called Janek, has two hothouses. He invited me over once. We went into the hothouse where he was growing tomatoes. You should have seen the pleasure he took in showing me the ripening tomatoes!

We do not grow them here, even at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. Each of the 1,000 bushes is not just in the ground, but in a separate pot without a bottom. Each of them has to be tied, watered, and sprayed. Janek gets seeds from a gardener he knows in the Netherlands. The cooperative helps Janek to market his products. The cooperative, incidentally, does not admit all and sundry; membership must be earned.

I can imagine them challenging, say, the inhabitants of the Moscow area. Choose some land, put up hothouses, and grow vegetables. The Polish truck gardeners could provide technical assistance; I am sure they would be pleased to help. On joint venture lines. I am sure that in a couple of years the capital would have no problem as far as fresh vegetables are concerned.

...The Polish crisis is "celebrating" its 10th anniversary. We have covered exactly one of that exhausting path. Do we have to continue into the second half? After all, the Poles have neighbors who appeared to have taken note of their mistakes and arrived at the same departure point on the path to the new more quickly: Between 10 months and 10 hours.

Letters Call for Speeding Up Party Activity

PM310114390

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 January 1990 Second Edition carries on page 3 under the general headline "Discussion Pamphlet No. 5. The Party and Perestroyka. Toward the 28th CPSU Congress" a 400-word letter from Doctor of Technical Sciences O. Mazurin and R. Rakhmankulov, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Silicate Chemistry Party Bureau, under the headline "Consulting With Communists." It reads as follows:

"The publication of 'discussion pamphlets' in PRAVDA is an important stage on the road to the dangerously protracted perestroyka of our party. For the first time in many years our country's newspapers are putting forward and comprehensively substantiating the thesis that it is not the party masses who must obediently follow the course determined by an effectively self-appointed leadership, but the party leadership, freely elected by rank-and-file CPSU members 'from top to bottom' which must implement a policy that reflects the majority viewpoint. We believe that this is a guarantee of the party's renewal, its transformation into a union of like-minded people, and the resolute strengthening of its prestige.

"The formation of the Central Committee on a new and democratic basis is only possible at a congress, that is in 9 months time. Given the speed at which events develop this period is currently equivalent to decades in the stagnant period.

"Can we allow politically highly important Central Committee plenums to take place according to the old format,

without reflecting considerably more clearly the opinions of the bulk of party members? We think that we cannot.

"We propose that the Central Committee consider the following procedure. CPSU Central Committee members and candidate members represent all the country's main regions. They should probably be instructed to meet regularly before every plenum with representatives of these regions' grassroots organizations and discuss in detail at these meetings questions scheduled for consideration. After the plenum, its participants should meet with Communists again in order to report back on the plenum's work and their position there.

"Party-wide referendums should be an instrument for most fully determining Communists' opinion on fundamental issues. We believe that the procedure for holding such referendums must be elaborated immediately and ratified at a Central Committee plenum in the near future.

"In our view, all this will not only constitute a substantial step toward the democratization of the party and will create a 'feedback' mechanism between its leadership and rank-and-file members but will also make it possible for the latter to take a more aware and responsible part in shaping the body of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress."

This letter is accompanied by two other letters. The first, by CPSU member V. Vyazhevich from Novosibirsk under the headline "Time Won't Wait," states that the "resolution of fundamental questions has been postponed until October, when it is intended to convene the 28th CPSU Congress. Should we wait a whole 9 months?' Then, after the congress, another 3 months or so will elapse before the decisions adopted really begin to be implemented.... I propose considerably advancing the date for the congress' convocation."

The second letter, from A. Fedyayev, deputy secretary of the V.I. Lenin "Arsenal" Plant party committee, under the headline "Starting With Reception," advances the following argument: "I agree with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, which set October as the date for convening the congress. However, the prevailing situation both within the country and within the party must not be disregarded. In view of this I propose that the next CPSU Central Committee Plenum confirm the precongress platform and adopt a decision to convene the 28th CPSU Congress in May-June, hear a Central Committee report, elect a new Central Committee, and ratify the drafts of the new statute and other program documents. I then propose that a recess be proclaimed in its work until October or, maybe, even November so that a discussion of the proposed drafts, including party-wide referendums, can be conducted in the party with the new Central Committee playing the organizational role." [last two sentences as published]

Moscow Electoral Commission Conducts Session

PM2203084790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Davydov: "Vexed Questions on Agenda"]

[Text] A routine session of the Moscow City electoral commission was devoted to the continuing registration of candidate people's deputies of the republican and local soviets. It emerges that practice is raising many vexed questions which require precise, fair, and legally irreproachable solution. These questions made up the session's agenda. Having examined in detail the appeals which had come in the city electoral commission in a number of cases disagreed with the opinion of the okrug electoral commissions and decided to register candidates.

The central question was perhaps the discussion of the powers of some clubs and associations of voters on questions of nominating candidate people's deputies. Last summer several such informal organizations appeared simultaneously in the capital and they have been created in the major regions of Moscow by the most active section of the electorate. The process of registering clubs and associations in the city executive committees was prolonged and complex. Then, after they had already been registered, these associations of citizens unexpectedly, after completing their nomination campaign, encountered the reluctance of a number of okrug electoral commissions to recognize their right to take part in the elections. Having attentively examined the protests from a number of leaders of voters' clubs, the city electoral commission considered it possible to deem the registration of their candidates to be justified.

The discussion of the fate of 400 candidate people's deputies nominated by the informal "Socialist Trade Unions" trade union association lasted several hours. This organization numbers about 5,000 members in the capital alone and it includes labor collectives from many cities in the country. The majority of the commission's members taking part in the session meanwhile concluded that the "Socialist Trade Unions" association is still at the formation stage and the participation of its candidates in the elections would be premature. But the vote produced no final result—there was no quorum to take a decision. During the further discussion the commission deemed it expedient, having conducted preliminary consultations in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic central electoral commission and the republic's supreme soviet presidium, to return to the question once more.

Tyumen Candidate Registration Refusals Reported

PM0102110590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 90 p 1

[TASS-attributed report by M. Prutkin: "Through Pickets to Elections"]

[Text] Using pickets outside the building of the Tyumen Oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] representatives of the young people of the city's Leninskiy Rayon decided to help KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA own correspondent Fedor Sizov, well known to readers for his critical items on acute ecological problems, to register as a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic candidate deputy.

The point is that despite the journalist's nomination by two collectives the electoral commission of the 716th okrug refused to register him. Three delegations of Tyumen "petitioners" visited the capital and two protests were lodged from the oblast prosecutor against the illegal decision and the telegrams capped our government telegrams, but the matter did not advance from a standstill. Yet back on 23 January the Central Electoral commission repealed the okrug electoral commission's decision and endorsed that F. Sizov be registered.

A seemingly strange situation. But it becomes more understandable if you consider that M. Kovalskiy, chairman of the okrug commission, is secretary of the oblast committee of the trade union of motor transport and highway workers while one of the candidates for this okrug and a possible rival for the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA own correspondent is Yu. Miller, chief of the "Tyumenavtotrans" association.

Recently, doubt was also cast on the correctness of the registration of another journalist—A. Kostrov, editor of the newspaper TYUMENSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. It is curious that he too has an important rival—N. Chernukhin, chairman of the Tyumen Oblispolkom.

Past Failure Sparks Tomsk Party Rethinking

PM250130Z90 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Solovyev article under rubric "Election Campaign Under Way": "A Week of Doubts"]

[Text] Tomsk—Speaking at the 13 January scheduled plenum of Tomsk Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom], which discussed party members' position before the elections, First Secretary V. Zorkaltsev concluded his report with a surprising revelation: "I have doubts.... Maybe I should withdraw as candidate Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy and should stand only for the oblast soviet? What would the plenum say? After all, this concerns the entire oblast party organization, its prestige...."

It was not easy to decide to adopt such openness. We are used to seeing "top people" imperturbably confident, full of optimism, resolute. Now—hesitation and doubts. But why?

The shock experienced by the first secretary and one-fifth of the obkom members as a result of the failure at the election of USSR people's deputies has still not worn off. The defeat was that much more bitter to swallow in view of the fact that none of the obkom members was prepared for it, the thought of it had not even crossed their minds.

But what is the election campaign situation in the oblast now? The nomination of candidates was, on the whole, completed by early January. Whereas the process was tumultuous in the city, it was limp and passive out in the countryside. There were difficulties in finding candidates for settlement and rural soviets in several okrugs. In statistical averages, two "whole" contenders were just about found for every seat. There are seats with just a single candidate. There are fewer workers and peasants than ever before. Few young people. The sluggishness of perestroyka and the difficulty with which it is making headway along the cart tracks of the countryside are producing their effect.

There is a crush of candidates for the oblast soviet (911 persons nominated, for 190 seats) and the republic soviet (89 candidates for 7 seats). There was an unexpected "head-on clash" between obkom members, with about 100 of them nominated. They have to fight one another and even their secretaries in almost all okrugs. And advocating the same platform at that....

It was said at the plenum: Communists must by all means "support their candidates as being the most suitable."

The following proposals were also made: All obkom members should participate in the election campaign in order to "knock out" unsuitable "informals" and "loudmouths" through joint efforts, and afterwards, depending on circumstances, some of them should "yield" to others, more reliable and more authoritative, just before the finish. But the last elections demonstrated the fruitlessness of such games. Are any obediently tractable people likely to be found nowadays?

The obkom members paused to think. Those who felt that they had been sincerely nominated by the collectives, that they had the desire and energy to fight, immediately proceeded to register. Others—dozens of them—are in no hurry, they are pondering.

V. Krews, secretary of Pervomayskiy Rayon party committee, has already decided—he withdrew his candidacy. He called on all obkom members "who failed at those elections" to also withdraw their candidacies for the republic soviet.

V. Portnov, director of Mezhenovskaya Poultry Factory, thinks otherwise:

"I understand the doubts of Zorkaltsev and others, who shared my failure at the last elections. But I have no regrets—it was a good experience. Is it worth having a second go? I think so. Provided you don't tell lies, provided you are honest with people. But everyone should first and foremost make his own decision—he will have to answer to his voters."

The obkom first secretary will, of course, also make a decision. The plenum backed his candidacy.

Kursk Deputy Breaks With Voters' Association

PM0102150090 Moscow LITERATURA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Kaluga dispatch: "Thank You for Help, But... Why a USSR People's Deputy Has Fallen Out With His Voters"]

[Text] Kursk—Nikolay Strukov, USSR people's deputy and senior investigator with the Kursk Oblast Public Prosecutor's Office, has publicly turned down help from his voters' association.

The incident, we will be frank, is unprecedented. But for the people of Kursk this statement by their deputy is nothing short of a sensation. Let me remind you of the enthusiasm with which Kursk informal organizations set up their own associations in support of USSR People's Deputy N. Strukov last summer. Rallies organized by the leaders of informal groups were staged throughout the city. In October last year the city soviet executive committee registered a new social organization: The voters' association.

As N. Strukov himself said more than once, he pinned great hopes on his hundreds of voluntary assistants. Then suddenly relations were totally severed. So what was the point of disagreement between the people's deputy and the group supporting his ideas and practical actions? Here is the explanation given by Nikolay Alekseyevich Strukov:

"I had thought that the laws of feedback would work through the voters' association.... But, unfortunately, most of the people who joined the association were those who loved rallies and slogans or had been offended in some way and wanted to get something out of it for themselves...."

I remember that back at the end of last year N. Strukov warned the association at one of its city rallies that, if extremist groups were going to continue to gain the upper hand in it, he would break with the association. That is what has now happened.

Of course, it was not easy for the USSR people's deputy to resolve to take this step. He realizes that now many members of the association he has abandoned will no longer be his assistants but his enemies. But, as N. Strukov says, he does not want to have anything to do with the extremely leftist attitudes of some of his voters.

How has the association's leadership reacted to the USSR people's deputy severing relations with it?

"There are now about 1,000 of us," Svetlana Pavlova, cochairman of the association, told me. "Of course, our association includes people with different views, attitudes, and beliefs and different political and social standards. It goes without saying that our number has also included people pursuing selfish aims, extremists, even monarchists, and people trying not so much to help our people's deputy as to achieve their own aims with his help. Possibly even political aims.... But the association does have a healthy core, despite this. We regret the severing of relations with our USSR people's deputy. We even feel that Nikolay Alekseyevich was in too much of a hurry to break ranks with us.

"But our association still exists. We will reorganize in tactical respects, change our work style, and take on new members from the more mature section of the electorate who support perestroyka in deeds rather than words. And, from now on, we are going to promote the active work of not just our deputy but all elected representatives of the people in the city of Kursk in all soviets."

All that remains to be added is that all this was done on a thoroughly democratic basis—publicly and openly—which has left no scope for gossip, rumor, conjecture, or idle talk.

Working Group Leader on Press Law Debate

90UN0114 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Jan 90 p 2

[Report on interview with N.V. Fedorov, member of USSR Supreme Soviet and leader of a working group on preparation of the Law on the Press, by TRUD special correspondent A. Pankov: "Guarantee of Glasnost"; place, date not given]

[Text] The third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet should be held on February, where, in particular, it is proposed to consider and adopt one of the most important legal documents of perestroyka—the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media Systems. A TRUD special correspondent interviews N.V. Fedorov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and leader of a working group on the preparation of the Law on the Press, concerning certain features of this draft law and about its individual provisions that have aroused sharp debates.

[Pankov] First of all, Nikolay Vasilyevich, why did you in particular, a Cheboksary lawyer, become the leader of the working group on the preparation of this draft law?

[Fedorov] Members of two committees—on questions of glasnost and on questions of legislation—were invited to a discussion of an official and anonymous (in the spirit of the old times) draft law which was put on the agenda back at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The draft evoked sharp criticism. I also spoke and proposed the basic principles of the new draft law. After this I became the leader of the working group....

[Pankov] You are not a journalist, why did you become interested in this problem?

[Fedorov] As a teacher and a lawyer, I wrote more than once to the oblast newspaper, including on sociopolitical and legal problems. Many times, I received unfounded, in my view, negative answers. The problem of freedom

of the press became especially urgent for me during the pre-election campaign. Owing to my pre-election platform, which was "uncomfortable" (at the time) for the local leadership, it became very difficult for me to appear on television and in the press. On the other hand, it was possible to say whatever one pleased about me on the screen and in the pages of newspapers.... Thus, life itself prepared me for a specific view on the future Law on the Press.

[Pankov] During the consideration of the draft submitted by your working group, one of the deputies hurled the reproach: It is created exclusively in the interests of journalists. Do you agree with this?

[Fedorov] Of course I do not agree. I later approached this deputy. It turned out that he was not yet familiar with the content of our draft. His comment simply reflected the attitude of a certain part of the voters that was disturbed by the "uncontrollability" of the press. Indeed, there is a certain "uncontrollability," but not so much because of perestroyka and glasnost, as owing exactly to the absence of a Law on the Press and the legal regulation of these problems. We need this law quickly, and only then will it be possible to take the mass media and journalists under strict control (I ask you to understand this word correctly), but under civilized and legal control—and to get it out from under departmental and bureaucratic control and the whims of officials. In significance, I compare this draft law with the Law on Property. For it is tied to the guarantee of the spiritual freedom of the individual.

[Pankov] What can you say about the sharp arguments that have arisen over Articles 6 and 42 of the draft law?

[Fedorov] There is disagreement on one paragraph in Article 6: Whether individual citizens can be independent founders of mass media means or not. I emphasize that the question concerns the right to an establishment and not to property (to a printing house), as some of our opponents understood incorrectly.

It is interesting that during almost a half year's work by our working group no one cast any doubt on the right of individual citizens to be founders. This is in full accord with international documents that our country obligated itself to follow and the USSR Constitution. Our draft law was very carefully and critically examined in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and there they also did not raise any doubts about it. In the course of preliminary discussions—and there were many!—no one, including G. Shaknazarov, who in the last stages submitted an alternative version, also did not come out against the proposed wording. And suddenly (this typifies our constitutional-legal and political culture) the "opinion" arose. International obligations began to be interpreted in such a way that nothing remains of the initial contents. A second version of Article 6 appeared, according to which individual citizens were removed from the founders of mass media means.

[Pankov] In this connection, I would like to know your opinion about Article 42, which was also submitted for consideration in two versions.

[Fedorov] The alternative version, in fact, consists Article 1, which proclaims the freedom of the mass media and the impermissibility of censorship. If this version is adopted, then it is more correct to call it not a Law on the Press, but a Law on Censorship. For the reason that up until now censorship functioned without a special law, and now we are legalizing it.

[Pankov] In what way?

[Fedorov] Actually, Article 42 in that form will grant a founder, and even the publishing house, the right to require the preliminary coordination of any material. Not everyone understands that, according to legislation in force, a founder or a publisher can delegate his authority about the preliminary examination of materials to any other entity. What kind? I am convinced to an already approved department. To Glavlit [Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press]. Therefore, very little will remain of our draft law, which we wanted to make sufficiently democratic, and in accordance with the initial announcement of Soviet authority in the Decree on the Press of 27 October 1917....

[Pankov] I had occasion to hear this opinion as well: If the mass media means is absolutely independent of the founder, then what is the sense of founding such an organ?

[Fedorov] Unfortunately, there are quite a few officials, especially among party workers, who are too afraid to lose control. This concern is absolutely pointless. Because the founder himself, while in the process of registration, defines and confirms the program of actions of the mass media means. If the editorial staff exceeds the bounds of the program, then there is a legal right for instituting proceedings against the manager of the newspaper or journal. True, the founder has to prove this deviation in court.

[Pankov] What in your opinion, as a lawyer, is more important—freedom of speech or the freedom to obtain information?

[Fedorov] The state should guarantee one and the other in equal degree. Otherwise, glasnost can be blocked at any stage. But our law works more for the freedom to disseminate information. But the freedom to obtain information should be guaranteed, it seems to me, through the adoption of at least two more laws—concerning the freedom of information (about glasnost) and state secrets and the archives. Now, even we, USSR People's Deputies, cannot always obtain the information we need. We are captive to information that the government gives us, and the Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics]. But to be independent legislators, we need independent sources of information.

[Pankov] Recently, our editorial office had a meeting with working correspondents, and they expressed disbelief that the draft law does not even make mention of public correspondents, and thereby their rights are not defended.

[Fedorov] We did everything so that the status of public correspondents was fully encompassed by the concept of "journalist." So, their rights, in my opinion, are well protected. But in doing this, it is necessary that relations of the public correspondent with the editorial staff are officially formulated.

[Pankov] Also, Glavlit is not mentioned in the draft law. Who will be protecting state secrets in the press?

[Fedorov] First of all, those who are obligated to do this by nature of their work—state workers, servicemen, and so forth; that is, authors and those who are interviewed themselves, but not journalists. Well, and if a publishing house or an editorial office has doubts regarding the secrecy of information, then they have to consult. So in these cases a Glavlit is necessary. It should exist not as an organ of preliminary examination, but as a consultative organ. Without the authority to give approval or not to give approval for publication. Its relationship with editorial officers could be commercial.

[Pankov] What do you expect from so-called national discussions of your draft law?

[Fedorov] It is not submitted for national discussion, but for discussion in the press. These are absolutely different forms. In accordance with the Law on National Discussion, creation is required of a special mechanism, an all-union structure, in order to fully take into account the fact of reciprocal communications. But now quite a few draft laws are being "discussed." Moreover, national discussion does not justify itself for the most part. From a legal and political standpoint, this is a fictitious measure to a significant degree. If we really want to know the opinion of the people, then a referendum is necessary. But a referendum is not needed on this draft law. Its publication in the press will enable all interested organizations and citizens to write to our working group, or to the USSR Supreme Soviet committee on glasnost and legislation.

CPSU's Manayenkov Visits Bashkir ASSR

PM1601131590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Single Edition p2

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Visit to Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Ufa, 13 Jan—The life of the working people and their vital problems, the work of the oblast party organization, and the prospects for the development of the autonomous republic: These are just some of the questions which Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, discussed during his visit to Bashkiria on 11-13 January.

He was acquainted with the work of collectives at a large-panel housing construction plant in Shaikha, the UAz Motor Building Production Association, and collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] and was interested to learn about working people's leisure conditions.

At the oblast party committee [obkom] the CPSU Central Committee secretary met members of the CPSU obkom bureau and the autonomous republic's party and soviet aktiv. It was noted that a good, businesslike atmosphere has been created in the oblast party organization, that people's mood for action can be felt, but, at the same time, that many problems are only slowly being resolved. The technical standard of production is not high enough at many enterprises. The republic is being slow to introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress. There are also unresolved questions in the construction complex, and people are particularly alarmed by the inadequate amount of capital investments being channeled into the development of housing and the social sphere. There are many difficulties in the agro-industrial complex, particularly in the livestock raising sector.

A great deal of attention has been devoted to resolving the problems raised by the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and to using the society's vast potential and the rights and powers accorded to them.

During a meeting with the republic's journalists, it was noted that the problems of restructuring have been broadly reflected in the pages of the local press. At the same time, the republic's mass media have recently lost their drive and embarked on a path of criticism for the sake of criticism. Journalists sometimes lack persistence and constructiveness in reflecting the positive changes taking place in the republic.

Manayenkov Pleased With Bashkiriya Visit

LD1503011290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Bashkiriya for 3 days. He visited industrial enterprises, collective and state farms. Particular attention was devoted to the prospects for expanding production of consumer goods and agricultural output. Listen to an interview which comrade Manayenkov gave to our correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Yuriy Alekseyevich, you said at a meeting with journalists that you came to Bashkiriya—perhaps this is your first official trip since being elected secretary.

[Manayenkov] One of the first.

[Correspondent] What is your view of the progress of perestroyka in this autonomous republic?

[Manayenkov] I liked the atmosphere in the republic. A great deal of work is being carried out here on implementing political and economic reforms, the activity of all levels of the oblast party organization is being restructured, and in general, there are practical results, too. In spite of the fact that the oblast has, unfortunately, been suffering from drought for the 3d year now, nevertheless, the industrial potential has completed 4 years of the 5-Year Plan, and 1989. The construction complex is developing. It is gratifying that structural changes are under way here, and that part which goes toward satisfying the country's social needs is being intensified. And agriculture is developing at a rate that isn't bad, although not everything here is clear-cut.

At the same time there are also unresolved problems in the republic. I think that there is the possibility of building more housing, schools, children's preschool establishments, health facilities—this is essential at the present time. Agriculture could also develop more intensively, at least, the animal farming sector. The Council of Ministers and Agro-Industrial Committee of the republic have, together with communists, elaborated fine programs, and I have formed the firm conviction that the available reserves will be put into effect more actively.

On the whole I leave here with good feelings, also because Bashkiriya is a multinational republic. The peoples who inhabit it, the Bashkirs themselves, and the Tatars, and the Russians and Ukrainians, and representatives of other nationalities, live in fine harmony. A common, strongly expressed aspiration to the future is visible, and where there is harmony, and a strong desire to work, success will be ensured in all probability. Preparations here are now developing well for the elections to republican and local organs of power. Preparations are also getting under way for the 20th CPSU Congress. A great deal of work is being done on democratizing the whole of social and political life, including the life of party organizations. I think that all of this, in a nutshell, is called perestroyka. [end recording]

Party Secretary Manayenkov Article on Glasnost

90UN0750A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by Yu. Manayenkov, secretary of CPSU Central Committee: "Degree of Nobility of Society"; the article was written in May 1989, when Manayenkov was first secretary of the Lipetsk Obkom. At the editors' request the author made it available for publication in VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA]

[Text] I believe Vasiliy Shukshin said that Morality is the Truth. Not simply truth but the Truth. Without arguing in the least, I would add: And Glasnost is the Truth. This is objective. Indisputable. Like the air that we breathe and by which we live. For this reason glasnost is now becoming a most important social and political factor, which is determining not only the quality of our life but is essentially the atmosphere of life itself, is life itself. It is as we are. To the extent that I or some other person am capable of influencing and do influence reality, to exactly the same extent may our attitude toward it be gauged. No more, no less. No adding or subtracting, as they say, here. If from this viewpoint we treat Lenin's belief that the masses should know everything, judge everything and approach everything consciously, on which the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "Glasnost" is based, the following conclusion is inevitable: Glasnost and morality blend together—they are two aspects of a single essence. After all, what is important is not only how people know the requirements of society but how they respond to these requirements and how they transform life.

When one gazes apathetically at the fact that many people in society, with the countenance of Joe Public, are callous and disrespectful toward their elders and, say, the most aggrieved part of the population remains needy widows of soldiers who in the greatest of wars defended our lives at the cost of their own lives, is it much use that one has heard of charity? Is there much good that comes from the most sincere words if they are not paid for in the gold of deeds? So even the tuning fork of glasnost, even if sounding in the highest register, is capable of playing out of tune when it is echoed on social injustice, group egotism, and political arrogance or is submerged by the excessive emotions of mass meetingitis. A mass meeting is not glasnost. It is an instrument of glasnost. It is, unfortunately, laid hold of quite often by those whose political and general breeding is low and to whom, however they may exercise their ingenuity, it is not given to "replay" the political, moral, and aesthetic values bequeathed us by V.I. Lenin. This is why I would judge the state of glasnost by the degree of mobility of society, by its readiness to elevate our existence and our ideals, by its attitude, hallowed by the centuries of the history of our fatherland, toward the weak, old men, women, and children—Man.

The child of April—glasnost has inherited its character—is developing awkwardly and unevenly. At the start of perestroyka it spurted upward, subsequently switching to an evolutionary track. A new spurt, equal to multiple acceleration, was imparted to it by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It is now more profound and more cogent and with the assurance of a housewife filling in newer and newer blanks. But there is still a surfeit of them, there being no global and all-embracing glasnost as yet.

The most open public institution of the country is, perhaps, the party. In terms of the degree of confidentiality and revelation the spiritual sphere and cultural establishments are, perhaps, close to it. Although there is so much in the way of self-praise, personal attacks, and unpleasantness there that this is at times closer to a kitchen. The 19th party conference and the "Glasnost" resolution which it adopted truly pushed, as it were, the party authorities, the higher authorities included, and the party as a whole toward maximum openness. With regard to the fact that this is largely determined by

glasnost of "local significance," so to speak, it is up to us to add and add. But we have a right to have more information about the top leaders also—both political and personal. When the human factor is made the cornerstone of perestroyka, the first priority for society in any personality, its leader all the more, is: What kind of person is this?

Without encroaching on information constituting an official and military secret—this is distressing, but necessary reality—I believe that there should be more openness to the people in the activity of the Defense Ministry, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the VGB and, even more, the economic departments. It is paradoxical, but a fact—it is economic realities which are illustrated worst in our country. Shortages have started by degrees strolling from store to store, prices are growing imperceptibly, we have slid in silence in terms of industrial potential into third place in the world, letting move ahead of us "little" Japan. Although we speak and write a fair amount about the economic reform itself, we often do so in incomprehensible and confused fashion. It is perplexing to many people and, not having passed through people's minds and hearts, it has not yet multiplied to that great an extent the country's economic property.

Glasnost cannot be measured out, this is an absurdity. No one has or should have a monopoly of it. Otherwise we would be sliding back to Stalin's "rule with an iron fist" or Brezhnev's "cesspools." Even more distressing is the fact that glasnost is for some people merely a view of the past, although it is an instrument of orientation toward the future.

There will never be a surfeit of glasnost for it means knowledge, and the boundaries of knowledge are limitless. Nor can it be used to the detriment of oneself or social and political, economic and other practice. If information causes harm, it is no longer glasnost—it is a phenomenon of the directly opposite pole: Slander, provocation, incitement, dishonorableness. That is, a whole "cartridge clip," which could "execute" glasnost. The harm does not come from glasnost, it comes from its absence.

Take the USSR Gosstroy [State Construction Committee]. It has under its wing the country's construction complex, behind which stretches a tremendous tangle of problems as the most socially intensive sector, in which the interests of millions of people meet. The pace of satisfaction of these interests is inadequate. The amounts of incomplete construction in recent years, however, have been growing unchecked. Colossal capital investments, which could come to people as new kindergarten, housing, hospitals, are tied up.... And the Gosstroy? Nothing doing. In the secret stillness of offices it continues to engender reports, implanting active bureaucracy. All appeals from the localities are beaten back on the threshold steps. You will agree, there would not be this lack of responsibility were the Gosstroy leaders to be subject to open, objective, and public scrutiny.

The Gosplan [State Planning Committee] is not opposed to glasnost, and everyone knows that it conveys to many of the country's enterprises orders for products to the extent of, and sometimes higher than, their rated production capacity. The Novolipetsk Yu.V. Andropov Foundry, the cement plant, and others are in such an enslaving position. This is essentially open violence against the State Enterprise (Association) Act. The witnesses thereof are the millions of people in their own outfits, who, when they go home, bear witness to the same thing together with their families on television. Is this glasnost?

The local party authorities are becoming hostages of this "glasnost" of the central economic departments. An absurd or undemocratic decision is adopted by a minister, but the obkom [oblast party committee] or raykom [rayon party committee] secretary is publicly responsible for it. But, it transpires, he has no information as to why, for example, sugar is sold by quota and inexpensive products or detergents have vanished. It will not be forthcoming from the departments. It is for them far safer to lavish promises that pass away before one's eyes without a trace, like water in sand. But nor is this glasnost. Glasnost is vigorous and capable of supporting the burden of both declarations promising much and results buttressing them with actual deeds.

Only on negative things, on a denial of the lofty feelings of civic duty can people not be raised. Without claiming an absolute truth, I believe that the surge in crime in the country—directly or indirectly—has been caused by the fact that the hero of the hour in the public mind is not the best worker or tiller of the soil, not the skilled craftsman, not the tooler and creator, on whom, just as on Atlantis, the state is supported, but representatives of the so-called at-risk group. Surreptitiously, as if by chance, nobility, disinterest, and collectivism—all that we have our whole lives taken pride in and which is really our national property—have been relegated to the far corner.

Credit may be extended to assurances of glasnost only by a state based on the rule of law, when the law and the highest models of morality reign supreme.

Export-Import Concern's Honesty Questioned

PM010209Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Yu. Nikolayev article: "'Syndicate': Measure of Charity, What Soviet People Have Gained From 'ANT' Concern Operations"]

[Text] After a series of articles on the cooperative "syndicate's" activity, a stream of indignant letters really flooded the editorial office. The readers were perplexed that such large-scale speculation in the national wealth, even to the point of selling tanks abroad illegally, could be tolerated. But in this heated, irate mail there is a single, extremely angry little letter which demands an immediate answer. We shall leave to the conscience of

P.M. Orlov, a milling machine operator from Sokolnicheskaya Street in Moscow, as he calls himself, the offensive, if not hooligan tone of the letter itself to the editorial office and we will set out briefly the essence of his grievances.

He, like the rest who wrote in without exception, categorically condemns the machinations concerning the tanks. But he claims just as categorically that the newspaper intends to compromise cooperative workers. Perhaps they really were concerned about us, Soviet people. Perhaps they did everything just so that there would be more of the goods and medicines needed by us on the shelves and in the pharmacies....

We need to be clear here. Of course, there can be no question of any intention to compromise the cooperative movement. Our regular reader knows that it was SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, like, perhaps, no other newspaper, which supported the beginnings of the emerging cooperative movement in its articles, and supports its development now as well. At the same time, naturally, it is also against distortions in it.

Now the matter of filling the shelves with goods needed. I put the questions posed by the Moscow worker and some others to S.Ye. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, and asked him, in particular, **what** state trade had received from the "ANT" concern's export-import deals.

"There is nothing worth mentioning," Suren Yefremovich stated. "Only that we, or more precisely the Moscow GUM department store, obtained from 'ANT' French brassieres and women's panties worth R119,000. And they, as far as I know, were sold at a traveling trade fair—at the plant named for I.A. Likhachev [ZIL]."

I do not know whether these panties and brassieres reached the fashion-conscious ZIL girls, and it was not worth trying to find out. Anyway it is clear that given the scale of the domestic wealth that was paid out the state trade system received pathetic scraps in exchange. Although, as S.Ye. Sarukhanov said, the "ANT" leaders promised to deliver high-quality imported commodities worth R2 billion in 1989 and up to R6 billion in 1990!

Our public health system received an equally small bonus last year. A million disposable syringes and the same amount of condoms. All this, as one of those who spoke at a military-industrial commission sitting, noted ironically (the newspaper talked about this in an article called "Mystery Train"), is not enough to satisfy even the needs of the workers at the "ANT" concern collective. What kind of concern for our health and well-being is this, respected P.M. Orlov...

I could say more. After a detailed conversation with senior officials at the USSR Ministry of Trade and the USSR Ministry of Health and a number of other departments I got the general impression that all these specific commodities were needed by "ANT" just as a cover. In order to show how reasonable this supposition is let me cite the "Preliminary List of Consumer Goods Available for Supply Through Cooperatives (Imports From Capitalist Countries)" signed by B.I. Ryashentsev, general director of "ANT," and stamped with the state seal. However much I try to grasp the meaning of the short, half-page, but very significant document, only one conclusion suggests itself. Nevertheless, judge for yourself....

The first two lines of the "Preliminary List" do indeed refer to goods in **great demand.** These are "various types of women's tights" at R5-9 and "men's and women's sports shoes" (athletic shoes at R60-70 each). The remaining "preliminarily available" goods? They are: "Mercedes" and "Volvo" cars at R45-50,000 each, "computers according to configuration," (R25-45,000), "various types of color television sets" (R2,000-3,500), "various types of video recorders" (R2,000-3,500), "portable dual cassette recorders," and "various types of personal stereo"....

I don't want to say anything bad about a single one of the aforementioned items. Indeed, is it wrong to have, for example, a "Mercedes" or an imported video recorder.... But, let us agree, do we really need to obtain these commodities right now, when there are not enough ordinary school notebooks for children and there is no trace of ascorbic acid—a vitamin needed by everyone, young and old alike—in any of the capital's pharmacies?

It is becoming very obvious that this state-cooperative "syndicate" was looking after not you or me, who live "from paycheck to paycheck," as they say, but those who have bulging wallets and can allow themselves to spend a few tens of thousands of rubles on the latest thing. At the same time, I ask you to note, the prices here are called "fair," but in reality the goods mentioned are bought for much larger sums on our market. The following questions spring to mind: With **whom** precisely in the USSR Ministry of Finance did "ANT" agree these prices and **who** pointed the concern toward the priority purchase of luxury items in capitalist countries? It is also important to find out just **how, and at what** cost to the country and to the people was it planned to gratify the homegrown fat cats?

As the reader probably remembers, the article "Mystery Train" mentioned that Yu.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, got permission to sell "for the needs of the 'ANT' concern at wholesale and contract prices production waste, secondary raw materials, surplus stocks, and output to be written off...." But at the military-industrial commission sitting V.I. Ryashentsev stated in plain terms:

"It would be naive to only count on waste...."

And he did not. He distributed to all his subdivisions "A List of Commodities Needed for 'ANT's' Production Needs." It comprises "specifications" relating to metal, timber, and chemicals. They contain about 100 names of items of certain materials in very short supply. These include "heavy sheet steel for shipbuilding," and "chromium ore," and "copper and aluminum (99.99 percent

and 99.5 percent pure) in billets," and rare-earth metals and ores, purified europium (99.9 percent), samarium (95 percent), lantan (99 percent), lithium (90 percent) and so on and so forth.

The "specification relating to chemicals" is no less noteworthy. I am not going to enumerate the complicated names of the products it includes (all of them are also in very short supply); I will dwell on only one factor. They include chemical substances which not a single country in the world today wants to produce on account of the fact that the very production of them presents a danger to the environment. And products which we have been forced to either produce in our country reluctantly or to chase around the world after, paying fantastic amounts of money. And the cooperative workers conceived the idea of hunting abroad! What do they care about the ecological situation in their native land?

The "List" includes sawed lumber (fir, spruce, and pine) of which construction projects are in the greatest need, and also oak, juniper, plywood, railroad sleepers, and "new and top quality fur and sable...."

Are these goods (may Soviet women forgive me), really worth all the brassieres in the world, including the most fashionable ones?

Nevertheless, real "production waste" cannot be approached indiscriminately. Take, for example, scrap ferrous and nonferrous metals again. USSR People's Deputy Ye.V. Kogan asked the government a few days ago: Why are people in Estonia being so cavalier about scrap metal? They have drawn up contracts with "ANT" to send abroad more than 200,000 tonnes of scrap ferrous and nonferrous metals. I asked L.V. Radyukevich, USSR first deputy minister of metallurgy, to comment on the deal.

"But that's a stab in the back!" Leonid Vladimirovich was indignant. "Our own open-hearth furnaces are on the verge of stopping on account of a lack of metal scrap...."

The "ANT" state-cooperative concern was really created in order to saturate the consumer market more rapidly. Probably hardly anyone could have expected that its activity would so quickly take on ominous and abnormal forms and could turn into not only an enormous material loss for the country, but also irreplaceable moral losses. In conversation with me the leaders of the cooperative "syndicate" swore and vowed that they had been thinking only of the people's good day and night and in the future would cram the market with goods in demand. As for the notorious "Preliminary List..." of luxury items, they allegedly need that only as a master key to the warehouses where the people's property is stored.

"What director or supplier can resist the temptation to have a most prestigious item at a reasonable price! We also guaranteed that some of the foreign currency would be paid to his own plant."

As we see, the master key was used rather often.

Here, I think, it is absolutely necessary to make one fundamental and very important clarification to avoid causing misunderstandings and stirring up unnecessary passions. It should not be thought that all workers in industrial enterprises and supply organizations went in for auctioning off the country's wealth with open eyes. That is, that they deliberately assisted the questionable trade in strategic goods. Nothing so simple. "ANT" and those who inspired it invented simple but very effective tricks.

Not a single one of the documents allowing the concern to buy and sell says that it will **market abroad** a given material. There is nothing wrong with trading in any metal or lumber within the country. Especially if it promised an appreciable profit for your own enterprise or collective. The State Seal on the concern's documents was reassuring and had a disarming effect. In domestic deals it referred to itself not as a concern at all, but as an industrial-cooperative association. Some economic managers fell for the enterprising chameleons' bait.

If only this had applied only to directors and engineers! As the practice of their first direct ventures onto the world market have shown, they don't make the best businessmen. What is more distressing is that those who by reason of their profession and duty are supposed to be experts in commercial operations swallowed the bait. There were enough idiots among them.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Trade also did not want to lag behind the fashion for wall-to-wall computerization. A contract was drawn up with "ANT" to deliver 1,600 computers, for which the hat was passed round, as it were—that is to say R42 million was scraped together from all its organizations. Of this sum R21 million was transferred to "ANT's" current account as an advance payment.

"I met with Ryashentsev several times and demanded that he observe the terms of the contract," V.L. Sokolov, first deputy minister, said.

But all the deadlines passed, and there's still no sign of the computers they asked for.

Perhaps we should pity Vladimir Leonidovich, sympathize with him, but we don't want to.... He is not the only client to be deceived by the concern, and you can't feel sorry for everyone. Unfortunately there is a kind of logic here. When V.I. Ryashentsev gave an explanation to the military-industrial commission, he particularly stressed the unselfishness of actions and thoughts. In confirmation he cited the fact the concern retains "only" 3 percent of its income from the sale of Soviet materials and goods abroad and 1 percent from imported goods. It is clear that, given that we are talking billions, these percentages have turned into large sums. But another matter was worrying. Why is it three times as profitable for the cooperative workers to **export** than **import** goods?

In order to be as objective as possible in assessing the concern's work, I asked Vladimir Igorevich Ryashentsev to give me his view of its aims and results. So the editorial office received "A Review of the Activity of the 'ANT' Industrial State-Cooperative Association." Information from it was used more than once in our previous articles. Here I shall dwell only on one of the "Review's" sections, where the results of the "public-social activity" are summed up. It reports that whereas in 1988 "ANT" transferred R71,000 for charitable purposes, in the first 9 months of 1989 R105,000 was transferred to the Children's Fund and the Charity Fund.

I shall let the reader himself compare the scale of charity and robbery and just cite the last paragraph of the "public-social" section: "The relations which have taken shape inside the 'ANT' industrial state-cooperative association between officials and between the leadership and officials, make it possible to develop such personal qualities as: A sense of one's own worth and responsibility for the work commissioned, professional skill, socialist enterprise, initiative, assiduity, and original thinking."

I don't know about all the qualities enumerated above, but you cannot deny the originality of this cooperative "syndicate's" intentions and actions.

Sverdlovsk Public Endorses 'Civic Forum'

PM1901114790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Pashkov report from Sverdlovsk under rubric "Direct Line. Own Correspondents at Teleprinter": "'Civic Forum' in Action"]

[Text] A meeting of a new social organization—"Civic Forum"—has been held here, attended by workers, engineers, white-collar workers, students, party and soviet officials, and representatives of informal organizations.

After the pre-new year spontaneous rally in Sverdlovsk, reported by IZVESTIYA (no 5, 1990), it seemed that there was no shortage of various official efforts to evaluate this event. An extraordinary plenum of the CPSU city committee, a meeting of the party oblast committee bureau, and a meeting of representatives of labor collectives were held, and instructions and organizational conclusions poured in. However, it was plain that the old established methods of dealing with acute situations are no longer viewed as effective; people are beginning to understand that punishing individual trade officials will not put more goods on the shelves.

While the official measures were taking their course, a new social formation was in the making whose organizational nucleus was the "29 December" committee formed during the spontaneous rally.

It is possible to say that the idea to set up the "Civic Forum" arose because of lack of confidence in the local authorities and the public's desire to play a direct part in resolving the problems which have built up. An ad hoc sociological opinion poll revealed that most citizens believe that the spontaneous rally did not take place at the behest of informal organizations, or as a result of some kind of provocative actions on the part of the authorities, but as a consequence of the general critical socioeconomic situation in the city. It is noteworthy that the draft resolution, distributed at the entrance to the "Civic Forum" meeting, does not support the actions of the city soviet executive committee aimed at resolving the crisis by exerting pressure on the central organs of political and economic leadership.

"It is obvious that this is a crisis which expresses itself not so much in empty shelves in the stores—they are merely a consequence—as in the total loss of clout on the part of the local authorities," said Prof. V. Isakov, member of the aforementioned committee. "They are incompetent and lack initiative. Given the present system, no matter how many spot checks you organize, you will always find something tucked away under the store shelves."

The speakers proposed that the "Forum" be made into a permanently functioning organization so that vitally important decisions are adopted under the supervision of the public and on its advice, rather than by an individual group of people. This proposal was accepted.

"Our 'forum' will unite committed, enterprising people," USSR People's Deputy G. Burbulis said. "Thinking that Gorbachev, people's deputies, or good laws alone can change the situation in a city or the country as a whole of their own accord is an illusion. When asking what tomorrow will be like everyone must grasp that it will be what we choose to make it and what we manage to do about it."

The key idea is this: The "Civic Forum" must unite creative forces, it must not be disruptive. In the face of serious problems, it is necessary to unite on the basis of reason, rather than emotions.

Has the Sverdlovsk inhabitants' "Civic Forum" become a serious alternative to the measures that went before? Frankly speaking, I do not think so. In both cases, it seems to me that what is lacking is a constructive approach, a clear-cut idea of how to overcome the crisis situation. However, this only serves to indicate that there are no simple solutions, and that it is necessary jointly to look for a way out without dividing into "them" and "us."

No Evidence To Back Claim of Arms Stockpiling

PM3101154590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent A. Gordeyev and own correspondent B. Glotov report: "Information Not Confirmed"]

[Text] Donetsk Oblast—The statement by V. Komarov, leader of a team of drift miners at the "Shakhterskaya-Glubokaya" Mine, that large quantities of weapons are arriving in the mining towns of the Donbass caused alarm not only among the participants in the all-union conference of representatives of the working class, peasantry, and engineering and technical workers. However, the "facts" set out in the speech by the chairman of the Shakhtersk City Strike Committee is in no way square with the information available to the Donetsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] Internal Affairs Administration.

"If it were a question of small amounts of firearms, we could perhaps agree with it," Militia Colonel V. Varaka, deputy chief of the oblast Internal Affairs Administration, told me en route to Shakhtersk. "But for large quantities of weapons to be shipped in unnoticed is in the realms of fantasy."

"I was put on the spot by the standing orders," V. Komarov said. "Knowing that the time allocated for each speech had been cut from 15 to 5 minutes, I got worried and tried just to cover the essence of the matter. But I screwed up and mixed several issues together. Yes, we are concerned about the situation in the Transcaucasus; yes, the strike committee has been informed of proposals to sell weapons to the miners. We are also concerned about 'visible underground agitation.' These are not rumors: Many people, me included, have themselves read the extremist slogans on pipes and trucks. That was what I meant to say, when in fact something quite different came out...."

Nevertheless, where did he get what he said? Viktor Vasilyevich cites the party committee secretary at his pit, who was allegedly told something similar. We went to "Shakhterskaya-Glubokaya."

"Indeed, we did have such a case," V. Prikhodko, party organizer at the pit, confirmed. "A face worker (he went on to give a name, which for understandable reasons the party committee secretary asked not to be published) was approached by a stranger in a store. The man went up to him and started talking about the training of combat militias. Only he was talking about the Ukraine, not Azerbaijan...."

The fact is that few of our miners come from the republic's Western oblasts. "Fellow-countrymen"—extremist functionaries—try to find them.

"We have currently confiscated 1,600 firearms," Major General of the Militia V. Nedrigaylo, chief of the Donetsk Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, said. "They are mostly hunting rifles, but there are also many rifle-bored guns, including small-caliber rifles. Our 'trophies' also include sawed-off shotguns and home-made pistols. All these have been confiscated both from citizens without permission to keep and use rifles, and from organizations, schools, and firing ranges whose premises lack the proper facilities for storing weapons. Of course, they have been confiscated from lawbreakers.

Great help in bringing these weapons to light has been and is being provided by citizens and social organizations, including the strike committees. That is why the statement about whole batches of weapons are without foundation. As for the rumors about weapons being for sale at markets, I can assure you that our staffers are constantly monitoring not only the Makeyevskiy Market, but all other markets in the oblast."

To the strike committees' credit, it should be noted that it was they who drew serious attention to the violations in weapon storage and in the use of explosives. That is why V. Komarov's statement has caused understandable annoyance.

Government Told To Scrap Energy Price Rises

PM3101155990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Ye. Sorokin report: "Way to Consensus"]

[Text] A sitting of the intersector trade union commission to which representatives of the government, the State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the USSR Finance Ministry, and also a number of the country's major enterprises were invited was held 30 January at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. The reason for this meeting was the USSR Council of Ministers decision to raise prices as of 1 January on diesel fuel, freight shipment tariffs, and also power for industrial and a number of other consumers.

Since the beginning of the new year the government and the AUCCTU have begun to receive letters and cables from labor collectives in many sectors making resolute protests against these decisions which have drastically worsened enterprises' economic and financial position. It has been calculated, in particular, that as a result of this profits in the construction complex, the chemical and petrochemical complex, the power engineering complex, and the timber complex will fall by R6 billion, R1.2 billion, R821 million, and R760 million respectively, and so on.

The AUCCTU protested to the government 20 January about this. A trade union commission chaired by K. Turysov, AUCCTU secretary, was set up; representatives of the USSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan failed to attend its sitting. V. Zotov, head of a USSR Ministry of Finance department, had to defend the government's position. From his explanations it followed that the government's decision gave rise to an outbreak of protests in the localities. The USSR Finance Ministry sent government cables to local financial bodies authorizing a number of (listed) enterprises to postpone their planned budget payments for 2 months in connection with the amendment of economic indicators.

The intersector trade union commission deemed these actions inadequate and incapable of alleviating the financial tension. It demanded that the government

suspend its decision prior to a general reform of wholesale prices. If the government does not take steps in the first few days of February it has been decided to appeal to the parliament via the trade union group of USSR people's deputies. The trade unions warned the USSR Council of Ministers that if it does not take urgent steps, enterprises will use the rights which they are guaranteed under the USSR Law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)."

At the same time the commission approved an increase in rates of insurance contributions, mindful of the great social significance of increasing minimum pensions. It pointed out the inadmissibility of decisions to increase prices and tariffs without consulting the trade unions and labor collectives.

Abdullayeva Acquittal 'Evidence of True Justice'

PM1901100390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report "From The Courtroom" by G. Orlovskiy: "No Evidence of Crime"]

[Text] From 5 through 15 January the USSR Supreme Court Criminal Cases Collegium, comprising the chairman, USSR Supreme Court member L.V. Chistyakova, and people's assessors N.S. Bordeanu and F.M. Rayanov, considered a bribery charge against R. Kh. Abdullayeva. We have talked about the course of the investigation in our reports. R. Abdullayeva was accused of accepting bribes totaling R5,000 from M. Khudaybergenov, former first secretary of Khorezm Oblast Committee. The examination of the evidence in the case made prosecutor S. Golev decide to drop the charge. Yu. Ivanov, the attorney defending R. Abdullayeva, considered that the crux of the matter was not only the lack of evidence of the defendant's guilt, but also the fact that the so-called "admissions" at one stage of the investigation were obtained as a result of Gdlyan's and Ivanov's use of illegal methods and the lack of proper prosecutor's oversight.

She told investigator A. Dukhanin, when he interrogated her, about the way they had "worked" with her, about the way they had beaten the admissions out of her (our paper reported this in a piece entitled "Accusations All Around").

On 15 January R. Abdullayeva had her final say. It was brief: The defendant declared her innocence once again. She asked the court not only to acquit her but also to record in the verdict that the "admissions" and the "accusations" had been illegally obtained by the investigators, and she demanded the names of those who had been involved in falsifying the case.

The court reconvened at 1600 hours and the chairman, L.V. Chistyakova, read out the verdict.

The court, having investigated all the cirumstances of the case, decided that the charge against R. Abdullayeva had not been substantiated. The collegium was of the opinion that the court had turned up no objective data on the actual bribe, the date or the "patronage and support" motive specified by the investigation. In other words, there was no proper evidence that a crime had occurred.

The verdict was that R. Abdullayeva should be acquitted because there was no evidence of a crime. She was released from custody in the courtroom.

R. Abdullayeva passed through the barrier that had separated her from her family and society for more than 2 years. I asked her what she thought of the verdict. Maintaining her dignity, R. Abdullayeva replied: "You can report that justice has triumphed. But I cannot be entirely satisfied. The verdict did not name the investigators who toyed with people's lives. I had expected a separate judgment on the illegal actions of the investigators and those who had sponsored them. But I believe that these actions will be properly evaluated eventually."

So R. Abdullayeva was acquitted. I see the verdict as fine evidence of true justice.

More Resources Demanded for Siberian Development

PM0102093390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Andrey Illarionov dispatch under "Direct Line" rubric: "Draft Platform of Deputies From Siberia and the Far East"]

[Text] Novosibirsk—A meeting of the action group of USSR people's deputies from Siberia and the Far East has been held in Novosibirsk.

The action group elaborated a draft platform of USSR people's deputies from Siberia and the Far East. It speaks of the fact that these regions lag seriously in terms of their social development, and of distortions in economic development: "Despite the harsher natural and climatic conditions, people in Siberia and the Far East are worse fed and have considerably less housing and medical and children's institutions than the average in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Life expectancy in these regions is 5-7 years lower than in the European part of the country."

In the group's opinion, the main cause of these imbalances is the "flawed and rigidly centralized management system," which initiated a policy discriminating against Siberia and the Far East with regard to the deployment of productive forces on their territory. The draft's authors see a way out in "transforming these regions from a raw materials appendage into a comprehensively developed resource base of the country."

In order to solve Siberia's socioeconomic and cultural problems, the deputies deem it necessary "to produce at union and republic level separate special budgets for Siberia and the Far East, drawn up with due consideration for the real standard of living in the regions," and "to revive the lost Siberian traditions of crop farming,

stock raising, and ethnic crafts." The draft sets the goal of "attaining a fair distribution of foreign currency revenues from export deliveries of resources and setting up a special regional foreign currency base." In order to attain these goals within an acceptable timeframe, it is also important "to elaborate the structure and management mechanism of Siberian and Far Eastern national economic complexes and to shape a regional market," and "to define the status of national territorial formations for numerically small peoples and to enshrine in it all conditions for the preservation of these peoples as ethnic groups."

"It is proposed to create an association of people's deputies from Siberia and the Far East at all levels—from the USSR down to rural soviets—as a political organs for leadership of the region's development."

The draft platform is due to be discussed with deputies in the Siberian and Far Eastern regions.

Economic

Ministry Official Says 40,000 Rail Cars 'Idle'

PM3001150590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[A. Kapkov report under rubric "We Are Following Situation": "Abandoned Trains"]

[Text] To our latest call to the Ministry of Railways requesting information about the situation regarding the unloading of freightcars, B. Zakharenko, deputy chief of the transportation administration, gave the following information:

A particularly tense situation on the railroad network took shape on account of the shutdown of the Azerbaijan main line, he said. This stoppage (the standstills in individual areas lasted for more than a month) has really gotten all the country's railroads by the throat and is paralyzing industry not only in Azerbaijan itself but also industry thousands of kilometers away from it. You cannot assess the situation any other way because more than 40,000 cars are standing idle at the approaches to this railroad. And this comprises a significant part of the country's total rolling stock.

The barrier blocking the way into Azerbaijan has deprived of work a colossal army of railroad and industrial workers throughout the Soviet Union. For example, in Astrakhan sulfur has been loaded up for Sumgait, but all the plants there are at a standstill. Where can the freight be put? A plant which manufactures aluminum condensers for domestic refrigerators also remains at a standstill. In Kuybyshev, Bashkiriya, Kremenchug, and Achinsk bulk oil centers are on the verge of stopping. Into what can the gasoline and fuel be loaded if the wheels of more than 6,000 tank cars, which have not been unloaded, are rusting in Azerbaijan and the approach to it? And how many other riches have been left standing on the steel tracks! There are 557 cars carrying metal, nearly as many carrying fertilizers, 52 carrying metal structures, 104 carrying cement, 56 carrying timber, and 235 carrying construction shipments. Dozens of trainloads of meat, sugar, flour and imported goods bought with foreign currency, starving livestock, and agricultural machinery—all this must be unloaded.

What can be done to stop the transportation noose tightening further around industry's neck? So that the freightcars can finally get back into circulation, without which it is impossible for the economy to function? Probably the territorial bases of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply should be given the opportunity to redistribute resources and to put on sale whatever has not been allowed to decay on the tracks. Incidentally, this precedent has already been set.

Economic Aspect of Transcaucasus Conflict Viewed

LD2901070690 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov:

There are largely common reasons behind the gaps in the supply of soap and powdered detergents to the Soviet trade network, which forced the country to increase 10-fold the import of detergents in 1989, and this year's sudden scarcity of cigarettes. One of them is the ongoing ethnic conflict in Transcaucasia.

Given the preserved production monopolism in the USSR coupled with a very high level of cooperative links in the country's economy, frequent stoppages in the production of chemicals in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait or cigarette paper in Yerevan, Armenia, painfully affect consumers across the country and are a heavy burden on the consumer market weak as it is. The conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, now subsiding, now bursting into a bloody flame, as has happened this January, has a specific economic dimension.

According to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the national income of the two republics, with a population of slightly more than 10 million, stood at 16.8 billion roubles in 1989, or 2.6 per cent of the all-union production. They contribute over a quarter of their output to the all-union fund.

For instance, Azerbaijan supplies 37 per cent of the produced oil and gas, 65 per cent of chemicals, and 40 per cent of food products to other parts of the country.

As for Armenia, before the devastating earthquake of 1988, it exported 65 per cent of its light industry output, 59 per cent of chemicals, and virtually all trucks, motortyres, farm machinery, electronics, instruments and many other goods produced in the republic. The plant in Spitak, which was destroyed by the earthquake, turned out a quarter of all lifts produced in the country.

The two republics also heavily depend on other areas of the country. Azerbaijan fully meets its requirements in

timber, paper, cardboard, motor-tyres and soda ash through imports. Union supplies of ferrous metals (51 per cent of the republic's consumption), chemical industry products (46 per cent), and light industry output (39 per cent) are crucial to Azerbaijan. Almost half of the meat sold in the state sector and 79 per cent of milk products are imported to the republic.

Armenia, in turn, totally depends on the imported fuel. It imports 93 per cent of ferrous metals, 56 per cent of chemicals and light industry goods, and 32 per cent of machines and equipment. The republic also takes delivery of a large quantity of milk, meat, sugar, butter, and fish.

Lastly, both Armenia and Azerbaijan import all needed photo cameras, vacumm cleaners, radio sets and other consumer durables.

Azerbaijan accounts for just 0.8 per cent in Soviet exports, and Armenia—0.1 per cent.

Azerbaijan exports two per cent of its industrial output and Armenia—0.7 per cent.

Goskomstat Chairman Scrutinizes '89 Performance

WA3001204990 Moscow PRAVITELSTEVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 4, Jan 90 p 3

[Commentary by V.N. Kirichenko, chairman of USSR State Committee for Statistics: "Difficult Steps of Economy: Results of Work of Country's National Economy in 1989"]

[Text] First of all— **about the dynamics of public production.**

When determining the growth of the national income last year one cannot rule out the influence of the actual price changes.

The national income has increased by 2.4 percent. This estimate is more realistic than the calculations we did earlier on the basis of the so-called changed 1983 prices.

One must also keep in mind that a peculiarity of the formation of this generalizing indicator in 1989 was the expansion of the import of goods for the population (especially in the fourth quarter) and the increased production and sale of alcoholic beverages. This had a positive effect on the dynamics of the national income.

The net output from material production increase by only 1.5 percent; that is, same national income but without the influence of foreign economic ties and increased turnover tax, which is largely related to the sale of alcoholic beverages.

This is close to the point where the amount of per capita national income remains unchanged. Therefore it seems that the acceleration of economic growth becomes especially crucial.

Under current conditions when considering problems of rates it is no longer sufficient to criticize former principles of increasing them at any cost. This is already clear. We need a careful development of ways of increasing them, of course, with a streamlined and more harmonious structure of the economy, as a result of increasing the final and not the intermediate product, on the basis of increasing the effectiveness of the utilization of all kinds of resources.

How crucial this problem is is emphasized by the change in rates whose character was manifested within the framework of last year. This is apparent from industrial production. While during the first years of the 5-Year Plan one of the shortcomings noted was its uneven pace whereby the rates dropped, but this was made up for the next year to one extent or another by increases. Last year there was a steady reduction of growth rates practically from quarter to quarter. In December this led to minus indicators of growth as compared to December 1988 (minus 0.7 percent). We must break this tendency.

Still at the center of attention is the question of the **condition of the consumer market and monetary circulation.** What are the data on this in terms of the results of 1989? Consumer goods production increased by R30 billion, or 7 percent. Imported goods for trade increased by R8 billion, or 19 percent. They comprised 12 percent of trade resources. Commodity turnover in actual prices increased by 10.2 percent or, in absolute amounts, by R37.3 billion. These are growth indicators that are unprecedented in past years.

But the consumer is not noticing these increases on the shelves of the stores; on the contrary, he is struck by the larger zone of deficit, the transformation of normal trade into coupon distribution, and the appearance of essentially closed forms of trade at enterprises and in institutions. What is the matter? I have already answered this question on the pages of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK. I shall give only the latest figures.

The fact is that we have not managed to put a stop to the soaring growth of monetary incomes and the accumulation of unsatisfied consumer demand. This factor discredits the entire economy and is a heavy burden on the consumer market, breaking down its supports and eroding its structure. In 1988 the monetary incomes of the population had already increased by 9.2 percent, or by R41 billion in terms of absolute amount. And in 1989 the increases were 12.9 percent and R64 billion respectively.

The accumulated unsatisfied demand of the population for goods and services, according to estimates of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, has increased to R165 billion. If we were to try to eliminate it through free price setting according to the laws of the market, the prices of consumer goods would have to increase immediately by a minimum of 40 percent, with extremely undesirable and severe social consequences.

An inevitable result of such a situation on the consumer market and the uncontrolled growth of incomes, helped along by the emission of money (the amount of money put into circulation increased by a factor of more than 1.5 as compared to 1988), is the devaluation of money or inflation.

This is expressed in the growth of prices, and under our specific conditions, also in this growth of the unsatisfied pent-up effective demand. According to investigations that have been conducted (registration of prices for goods and rates for services), the growth of consumer prices in 1989 was 2 percent (not counting price changes related to improvement of the quality of goods acquired by the consumer). This is the price component of inflation. And hidden inflation, conditioned by the increase of the mass of pent-up demand over the year, amounted to another 5.5 percent. The overall acceleration of the inflation rate last year, according to first estimates, was 7.5 percent.

In the situation that has developed, improving the market and fighting inflation are conditioned to a decisive degree by more rigid regulation of monetary incomes and a decisive restriction of the growth of the incomes of enterprises (including wage funds) as a result of unjustified product price increases.

Incomes can and should grow, but only as the final results of production increase. Otherwise their growth becomes pointless from the standpoint of real improvement of the people's material situation and also from the standpoint of the observance of social justice in our society.

At all levels of management we must take measures for improving the mechanism for forming the wage fund. In 1989 it increased 5.4 times more rapidly than the national income did, and almost 1.5 times more rapidly than the increase of the sale of goods and the rendering of services to the population.

A fundamental problem [end bold] of modern socioeconomic development is the production of goods and services for the population and the growth of commodity turnover.

Initially the corresponding data were given according to the results of 1989. One should add that a number of ministries did not fulfill the state order for nonfood commodities. The rates of growth of the production of food products are inadequate (3.2 percent). There was a shortage in the delivery of goods to trade.

The high growth rates of group B of industry (4.5 percent) occurred as a result of a complex of economic and administrative measures undertaken by the government under the conditions of the significant increase of monetary payments and the panic buying of many consumer goods.

At the same time significant changes are taking place in the structure of the output of goods for the population related to the increase in the output of relatively more expensive items. Thus in light industry in 1989 the output of items sold with increments to prices increased by 13 percent while the production of other goods remained at the 1988 level. The share of goods sold with increments amounted to up to 40 percent of the overall output of light industry items.

Thus group B is more oriented toward the well-to-do segments without taking into account fully enough the needs of the population with relatively lower income levels. If in the future the essential increase in the output of goods for the population earmarked by the plan is achieved, as it is at the present time, mainly as a result of increasing the output of costly items, even the achievement of the planned goals will not contribute to relieving the social tension that has developed.

This idea can be explained by the following example. The amounts of minimum pensions have increased since 1 October 1989. It is clear that the growth of incomes of this group of pensioners will increase the demand primarily for food products, inexpensive clothing and footwear, and medications.

According to estimates of specialists of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, in 1990 approximately 45 percent of the increase in monetary income resulting from increasing minimum pensions, R6.5 billion rubles, will go for purchasing food products, one-fifth for nonfood commodities, and approximately one-tenth for payment for services.

If we do not provide for a significant increase of resources corresponding to the increase and structure of the consumer demand of the corresponding groups of the population, measures for increasing their monetary incomes will not produce the necessary social result.

The results of 1989 have shown that we **are not maintaining the rates of transformation of the material and technical base of the complex of branches that work for consumption by the population.** The output of many kinds of technological equipment for light industry, the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, and trade and public catering enterprises was less than envisioned by the plan, and the production of a number of kinds of equipment has been reduced as compared to 1988. Rectifying the situation here requires unwavering attention and persistent work this year and in future years.

In 1989 this shortcoming became especially critical in the organizational-economic structure of our production as **excessive concentration and monopolies in industry** whereby production of one item or another is fully or basically concentrated at one enterprise. Any interruption in the functioning has a serious effect on the work of associated enterprises and entire branches of industry. This was especially appreciable for machine building. Thus the failure to fulfill the plan and the reduction of the output of mainline diesel engines by the USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building was caused largely by the shortages in the deliveries of electrical equipment

for these engines, the only manufacturer of them in the country being the Kharkov Elektrotyazhmash NPO [Scientific Production Association] of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making.

Another enterprise of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making, the Dinamo NPO, which is the main supplier of electric engines for crane plants of the USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, also failed to fulfill its delivery commitments, which along with other factors led to a failure to meet the production program for producing cranes.

In many cases the national economy suffers from monopolies which have developed in the production of even the simplest materials and items.

Thus one of the main reasons for the interruption in the work of the cable industry last year was the shortages in the deliveries of disintegrated chalk, a component necessary for the production of rubber for cables. The only manufacturer of disintegrated chalk in the country, the Shebekinskiy chalk plant of the RSFSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, provided for only 79 percent of the deliveries of these materials to cable enterprises.

Among the many difficulties encountered this year by tractor and automobile plants of the country was the shortage in the deliveries of friction plates for steering control, whose main producer is the Yaroslav plant for asbestos items of the USSR Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry. In many cases the client enterprises have been forced to have these items delivered by air.

How destructive a monopoly of the producer can be is shown by the latest fresh example of the shutdown in late December of the Nairit NPO of the USSR Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry in Yerevan.

This enterprise was the only producer of chloroprene rubber and propionic acid and produced most of the formic acid necessary for producing medical preparations, items of fine organic synthesis, and a number of other products. Some elements of the public and the mass media welcome what is happening. One can hardly argue with such a decision from an ecological standpoint, but this places many branches of the national economy (especially the automotive branch) in an almost hopeless position, and there is no doubt about this either.

It seems necessary to develop immediate and long-range measures for the efficient deconcentration of production and the development of a network of small factories, legal measures for overcoming monopolistic tendencies, and a legal mechanism for closing down enterprises out of ecological or other considerations of the local administrative organs.

An unfavorable peculiarity of last year was the increase in the loss of **working time.** It increased in industry and construction by a factor of 1.3, and amounted to more than 40 million man-days, which is tantamount to the daily absence from work of more than 140,000 people. The losses from this were more than R4 billion in output.

The growth of loss of working time was conditioned to a certain degree by the strikes in the country. During the past year the country lost more than 7 million man-days because of this, and direct loss of output (failure to perform work) amounted to R0.8 billion. About half of the loss of working time was in the Transcaucasian republics. Each day in the country about 30,000 people did not work because of this, and when the strike movement reached its highest point there were 100,000.

There is another problem that has come to light because of the experience of past years, including 1989, and is of significance for the future. This is the **formation of preconditions for expanded reproduction in the near future.**

The increase in social tension of the economy and the priority of tasks related to improving the well-being of the population are reflected in the increased share of resources used for social needs (the fund for current consumption and accumulation in the nonproduction sphere). In 1985 it amounted to almost 80 percent and in 1989, more than 83 percent. This is undoubtedly a positive phenomenon, as is the increase in the proportion of investments in the material and technical base of the socio-cultural sphere from 22 percent under the 11th 5-Year Plan to 26 percent during 1986-1989.

At the same time it should be noted that with the inadequate increase in the national income while retaining the priority of social programs, the low rates of increase in the effectiveness of public production have led to a situation where in recent years the entire increase in national income was used for increasing the fund for current consumption and nonproduction construction. As a result there began a process of reduction not only of the fund for expanded reproduction in the national income (not including nonproduction construction), but also a reduction of its absolute amount. Taking into account the calculations for the plan for 1990 as compared to 1988, its absolute volume decreased by more than 20 percent. Thus the possibilities of expanded reproduction have decreased significantly from the standpoint of the quantitative assessment.

Therefore the significance of qualitative aspects increases especially: increasing the effectiveness of the created potential and production accumulation, active resource saving, and a savings regime.

Rytov Commentary on 1989 Economic Statistics

PM3101161190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p1

[Yu. Rytov commentary under rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Percentages and Store Counters"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has published its report on the results of the country's social and economic development last year. Readers probably remember the main results: On the basis of the actual change in prices, the national income increased by 2.4 percent and social labor productivity by 2.3 percent. Allow me to remind you that the planned growth rates were 5.7 and 4.5 percent respectively.

However, we have become used to taking a fairly skeptical attitude to these so-called growth rates: After all, you will not get full on figures, as is well known. For that reason, we will highlight only those figures in the vast mass of figures given in the statistical report which allow us to answer the most important questions of everyday interest. This primarily means the social reorientation of the economy. Last year, the proportion of resources used to meet social needs (the consumption and accumulation fund in the nonproduction sphere) reached 83 percent, against 80 percent in 1985.

It goes without saying that the state of the consumer market is best judged by the shelves in our stores. Everyone is quite familiar with this. However, it is also useful to perceive the trends which are appearing in this sphere.

So, the statistical report shows that last year saw a record increase in the output of consumer goods: R30 billion in retail prices (7 percent higher than the 1988 level). And the import of goods increased by R8 billion (or 19 percent). For this reason, there was also a significant increase in the volume of retail trade: R37.3 billion (or 10.2 percent).

But here we again come up against that paradoxical fact mentioned in previous commentaries. Only a small part of the growth achieved—just over 36 percent—reached the population directly in the form of commodity mass. So what happened to the other 64 percent?

This figure conceals the following: First, the growth in average retail purchase prices; second, broader trade in alcohol; and, third, the sale of goods to enterprises, institutions, and organizations (small-scale wholesale trade). It is clear just from this breakdown of figures that it would evidently be premature to speak of substantial improvements in the consumer market. And if we analyze the structure of commodity turnover in detail, we get a very depressing picture.

The reality is this. The supply of foodstuffs remained at the level of the year before last. But the population is continuing to grow (by approximately 0.7 percent per year). The situation with meat and dairy products (up 2.0 and 1.0 percent respectively) is still very tense. The sale of meat and poultry to the population from state resources has fallen in approximately 35 oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics, while the sale of butter has dropped in 37. There has also been a deterioration in the population's supply of fish and canned fish products (down 5 percent in both cases). The availability of potatoes in the trade network has fallen by 2 percent; vegetables—by 5 percent; and fruit—by 7 percent.

Now a few words about industrial goods. The output of light industrial goods sold with markups on the retail prices has increased by 13 percent, while the output of others has stayed at the same level. Naturally, this kind of growth "strategy" has in no way helped to reduce the shortages. The list of goods in short supply is still really inexhaustible. It contains everything: from footwear to thread....

A strange metamorphosis is also taking place with other industrial goods. Enterprises under the leading ministries have increased their output by 18-24 percent. But the state order is not being met for precisely those goods in the greatest demand. Of 275 types of cultural, consumer, and domestic goods surveyed, for example, only 10 were freely available in the second half of last year.

When assessing the situation on the consumer market, it must be taken into account that it has been made extremely complicated by the sharp increase in the monetary mass, which has shot ahead of commodity growth. There has been an increase of almost R64 billion, or 12.9 percent.

It is clear from the above that stabilization of the consumer market and its saturation with goods and services is task number one this year.

So, what lessons should be learned from the results of last year? Growth in consumer goods to the value of R66 billion is now envisaged. Is this program realistic? It is perfectly realistic in monetary terms. If all the methods discussed are used and developed. What is more, new factors now coming into play could also have an enormous impact. These factors are: auctions, commercial stores, sale of apartments, sale of shares, interest-free loans from the population offset by consumer durables, and so forth. One can foresee that all these new factors will make it possible to substantially reduce unsatisfied consumer demand.

Nevertheless, these measures will not totally resolve the problem, because they are mainly oriented toward the high-income bracket. What must be done to protect the interests of all the other people—those with low and medium incomes? There can only be one answer to this: strenuously develop all progressive forms of economic management.

This is the main lesson for the future.

For the future? No, for the present: There is no time for delay.

Ryabov Interviewed on Kuzbass Commission's Work

PM3101150790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman L. Ryabev "on results of the work of the

government commission in the Kuzbass" by own correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy: "Impatience and Realism"; date, place not given]

[Text] Kemerovo—"It Began With Disagreements"—that was the headline of our first report on the commission's work. Well, now we can say that it ended in disagreement as well: No final document was signed. It is not just that the commission and the Kuzbass worker committees' council had different opinions on the first points in the protocol (they concern granting economic autonomy to enterprises, switching the oblast to regional economic accountability, reorganizing the management structure, and other matters associated with radical economic reform). The council prepared a draft of yet another new agreement with the government. But, according to the commission, it needs to be finalized, passages need to be clarified. The commission chairman—USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman L. Ryabev—proposed the signing of a document which would reflect both viewpoints—those of the commission and the council—and the presentation of it to the government. The workers insisted on their version. Following consultations, the worker committees' council decided not to sign any materials until the sides reached agreement.

The main argument is over the points in the agreement concerning the preparation of Kuzbass enterprises for the switch to market arrangements.

"As a matter of fact, the miners' document in no way contradicts the government program adopted by the second Congress of People's Deputies," L. Ryabev told your correspondent. "As you can see, the positions practically coincide on all the main strategic points. In this respect there are no variations, aside from a few minor nuances. But as for tactics... It is a matter of depth of analysis, of timeframe, stages, and methods of transfer. Of course, I would prefer to see a joint document signed, but that is not the crucial question, which is that the summer agreements should be unswervingly implemented.

[Kostyukovskiy] Lev Dmitriyevich, did the commission stick to its main task or did you stray outside it?

[Ryabev] We strayed well outside it. But only after having verified as scrupulously as possible the implementation of the protocol. We had to have a full and clear picture. Apart from anything else, it will be a matter of particular leaders taking responsibility for its implementation.

The commission—and it was a big team, around 30 leaders of various ministries —spent 2 weeks in the Kuzbass. We went to all the cities, checking all the city protocols as well as oblast protocols signed after the strike. And I came to strongly believe that all the agreements would be fulfilled. The monitoring measures proposed by the worker committees is one guarantee.

[Kostyukovskiy] Recently the government has adopted very important documents on the Kuzbass. If one regards a program for the socioeconomic development of the region as the immediate goal of the 5-year period, can one see the resolution on experimenting with a mechanism of regional economic accountability as a means of achieving it? Or is this, in your view, merely an experiment?

[Ryabev] The resolutions must be taken together, as a whole. I will say a few words about the socioeconomic program. It was put together in an entirely new way. In the first place, the main emphasis is on the development of one's **own** powerful construction industry base. Another promising difference is that for the first time a document has been created on the basis of **social** normatives. Around 100 different indicators of human activity were analyzed, comparisons were made of the situation in the Kuzbass and in the rest of the country, and the task was set of bringing the region, by 1995, up to the average level the country will have reached by that time.

The second resolution—on experimenting with a management mechanism in conditions of autonomy and self-financing—gives local soviets greater rights. The oblast switches to regional economic accountability earlier than other similar regions of the country—in January 1990.

[Kostyukovskiy] At the final session you remarked that there are intrinsic contradictions in the document, which is a stumbling block to the draft agreement. What kind of contradictions?

[Ryabev] In a number of cases, while demanding autonomy in their activities, worker committees are at the same time insisting on strictly centralized material and technical supply. So what do you have—autonomy for yourself and the command system for suppliers? I am not blaming the worker committee for this. These are problems that require very thorough analysis. Unfortunately, even experts and scientists often lack this thoroughness. The representatives of the worker committees' council we worked with are sober, competent people, who can see what the essential problems are and understand them. But their burning impatience to solve these problems as quickly as possible sometimes makes our dialogues somewhat tart. On the other hand, you cannot solve problems without bringing them to a head first...

Article Examines Shortages in Consumer Market

PM3101162190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[I. Demchenko report under "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "Union Gosplan Plan and Realities of Republics"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Everyday, and Other Services to the Population has begun to analyze

the balance between the 1990 targets and the material and raw materials resources.

Commission Chairman G. Kiselev recently called Moscow the capital of shortages. Admittedly, it is difficult to imagine now that just recently the whole country used to come here for goods and produce. But even if you accept as a working hypothesis (because scientific research has not been carried out yet) that Moscow has now turned into the epitome of the empty store, you cannot help noting in passing that the commodity-trade climate has deteriorated considerably across the whole country. It would be no exaggeration to say that the shortages in the consumer market pose a practical threat to the very basis of our existence.

It is no coincidence that the government program of urgent measures gives priority to achieving a very considerable increase in consumer goods production as early as this year. By decision of the Congress of People's Deputies—the country's supreme legislative organ—this sector of the economy has been given the right to preferential development and material-technical supply. I would add that the USSR Government has given an assurance that the questions have been comprehensively worked out with the union republics and is confident that the fulfillment of the set tasks is realistic.

The only thing left now, it would seem, is to examine the terminology. What is the meaning of "priority" and "realism" in our unreal economic conditions?

On 12 January T. Levin, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, informed the Supreme Soviet commission that the republic's light and textile industry enterprises have been provided with only 64.8 percent of the cotton and fiber, 86 percent of the raw silk, 86.2 percent of the dye, and 75 percent of the plastic footwear compound needed for 1990.

In the Ukraine the supply of raw materials to the consumer goods industry is more than 8 percent below target. Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Light Industry Minister Yu. Bondar reports that for the first time in many years there is an emergency in the supply of timber. Enterprises in the furniture and wood processing industry are on the verge of stopping work. The imbalance between the production plan and material resources means that output worth R250 million—summerhouses, furniture, musical instruments, and so forth—will not be supplied to the market. But according to the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] target, however, the population expects a 20.5-percent increase in the production of summerhouses and parts and a 10-percent increase in the production of furniture.

A similar picture emerges from the materials prepared in January by the governments of the other union republics which 1 month earlier "comprehensively discussed" the question of plan balance with the USSR Council of Ministers. Now it turns out that the allocations for virtually the same kinds of resources are inadequate everywhere, and when stocks have been allocated by the USSR State Committee for Supply, the producers themselves—the traditional partners of consumers—often refuse to supply them.

A fundamentally new trend has appeared—a refusal to supply on ethnic grounds. For example, a memorandum from O. Kvilitaya, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, notes: The Mariyampol bulk thread factory has officially informed the Kutaisi knitwear factory that as from 1990 it will not supply thread because of commitments to enterprises in its own republic. I. Kalin, chairman of the Moldavian Council of Ministers, cites the example of the Kishinev leather plant, which virtually cannot begin leather production for footwear for the same reason. Clearly, this phenomenon must be viewed in the context of the "coupon war" between republics and even oblasts in the sphere of trade. If you won't sell us your goods, we won't give you the raw materials to produce them. We will make everything for ourselves. And each will mint his own coins. Indeed, we have already almost reached that stage. It only remains to introduce a "nationality" heading in the documents accompanying each kind of resource and think up a way to mark "your" electricity and gas so that outsiders cannot use them.

I do not know how the USSR Government could consider the question of plan balance to be fully studied. But it is clear that the situation which has come about does not inspire optimism. Goods are needed today and, like it or not, whether we are ready or not, we have to "scale" the height that we have set ourselves for this year. This is difficult but there is no alternative—there is no spare time left.

In this connection I am amazed at, for example, the USSR Light Industry leadership's plan to raise approximately R4 billion of the planned extra R10.3 billion by increasing the level of average retail prices. Undoubtedly, the books will balance, but I'd like to know that the light industry workers themselves are actually going to wear? The documents of the State Committee for Statistics? The miniskirt of actual extra wages? Or imports funded by exports?

I cannot say that the picture of individual irresponsibility and general impunity which materializes as you read these documents is mind-boggling. It is painfully familiar from times gone by. It is another matter that the times themselves have changed. In the present context, when both the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet session have called things by their proper names—the situation in the country is called precrisis, the measures are termed extraordinary—the responsibility of state officials for their actions and their words should be completely different, too.

Introduction of Parallel Ruble Recommended

WA3101202990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Professor A. Zhuravlev, chairman of subcommittee on prices of Soviet of Union of USSR Supreme Soviet: "Parallel Ruble"]

[Text] **The higher gold prices have caused another burst of rapt attention to the state's financial problems which, as is clear now, affect each individual. What is the current situation and the possible ways of overcoming it?**

Recently, after meeting with voters in my precinct, I returned to Moscow to continue my work in the deputy commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I am thinking again about the alarming facts I encountered. This is one of them: In the regions that border on the Baltic republics deposits in savings banks have increased sharply. There are also other signs that show that the Baltic republics are seriously preparing for introducing independent monetary units other than the ruble on their territories—crowns, lats... It would seem that the residents of these republics are "insuring" their rubles in safe places just in case.

The possible consequences of the appearance of "Baltic currencies" in our country would require a long separate discussion. For the time being suffice it to say that it reliably "protects" their stores from visitors while the residents of the Baltic republics themselves will have the same opportunity as before to purchase goods for rubles throughout the Soviet Union except, of course, in regions where coupons and invitations have been introduced. I do not think we shall approach social justice this way; rather, it is another step toward that repeatedly condemned group selfishness, toward dividing up public property according to national "quarters," in other words, separatism. But now we are speaking about something else—about the fact that the state monetary system is indeed seriously ill and it must be cured without delay.

How? This is an issue over which the polemical swords cross. It reaches the point of being funny. The youth television program "Vzglyad" a couple of days ago surprised the viewers with the formula of a visiting specialist who declared that all problems of the consumer market in the Soviet Union could be solved in a couple of months. The method seems simple: To gather up as many products as possible abroad to guarantee the country's strategic reserve. I am afraid that not everyone will be able to immediately get to the core of the adventuresome, hare-brained core of this formula. In the first place, where is the guarantee that the appearance of new imported goods on our market will not incite even more speculation in them? In the second place, the only path to rectifying our economic situation is to increase the effectiveness of our own production, which means that we need a new level of technology and space for scientific and technical progress. We need incentives and interest in the results of labor. If everyone, including those who work poorly, were provided an abundance they would hardly start to work any better.

Third, in order to withdraw extra money and make the remaining monetary mass freely convertible, it is necessary to enter the world market fully and not partially, with our own and not purchased goods and being a competitive exporter. I am not even talking about the "charms" of financial servitude to which we are being so courteously invited: We know them from the bitter experience of many countries. Incidentally, there have always been plenty of people looking to experiment at someone else's expense while taking no responsibility. We need other paths.

It is clear that money, prices, and income are closely interconnected and in general it is not surprising that the simplest method seems to be to correct things with a radical method that was tested long ago—by changing retail prices.

At the beginning of this January prices of gold and other jewelry items rose sharply. This is an operation which has a previous history and, it seems to me, needs to be evaluated.

The first drawback is that a lack of confidence in people has made itself known again. There was the idea of explaining to the people openly and frankly that money is needed for social programs. But it turned out differently: The rising price of gold was kept a secret until the last moment. Naturally, the people got the impression that they were not being taken into account. They say just as they were deceived before they are being deceived now....

Now about the second drawback. The financial gain for the state, according to my estimates, will be only R2 billion-R3 billion and this amount will not make much of a difference. As we know, the Supreme Soviet was negative toward the idea of charging more for beer and tobacco but still it was up to the government to find additional sources of funds, not ruling out price revisions. To be sure, we had in mind such a possibility in an extreme case and taking into account the fact that when changing over to the new management conditions the prices would change anyway.

In essence we must reach a new level of prices, incomes, and buying power of the ruble. But it is one thing if we are confident that during the country's transition period the economy, figuratively speaking, will come down to earth when someone leads the horse to water and it is quite different if nobody is holding the reins.

The government has suggested raising prices for a group of goods: automobiles, motorcycles, boat motors, sewing machines, refrigerators, color television sets, rugs, crystal... At the last moment furniture appeared on the list although, true, it was imported furniture. The deputies were negative toward this idea and there is a decision of two commissions, the planning and budget commission and ours, where it is written that we take information

from the government under advisement but we express our own negative attitude toward raising retail prices even in order to solve social problems.

Moreover the deputies suggested a number of other sources of funds to be considered and counted. In particular this pertained to the above-normative stockpiles that had accumulated at the enterprises, amounting to a sum of about R50 billion. Material values are going to waste—spare parts, raw material, and semifinished products which will practically never be used by the enterprises themselves but could be suitable for skilled craftsmen, dacha owners, and so forth. This is an example of commodity mass that we could sell on the consumer market and obtain money for the budget.

There is another path—progressive payment for above-normative surpluses of dwelling space. True, people will object to this saying that this measure will encroach upon 105 million people. I personally doubt that this figure presented by the government is realistic since I assume that the additional payment would not necessarily have to be the total. One could also take into account the level of income, age, and other data, solving the problem in each individual case. And then we recently learned a story that confirms we must deal with housing surpluses in one way or another. In Moscow 3,000 three-room apartments are inhabited by one person. An attempt was made to move the residents out of 100 of these apartments into one-room apartments located, incidentally, in extremely prestigious areas of the capital and having a high level of comfort. Only one of the 100 people agreed to move... Why? It turns out that it is very advantageous to let out the extra rooms. So if we do not decide to "encroach" upon the holders of large apartments we are increasing the tension in the market for consumer goods and services. I myself have seen notices posted in Moscow: "I will let an apartment for R200-R250." And so we have growth of prices, a characteristic of effective demand that destabilized the economy.

I spoke out against the government's proposal to increase any prices at all, including for gold. I have already given one of the reasons: R2 billion or R3 billion will not fill the gap. But the main thing is that we must not give anything to the shadow economy and the merchants of underground business. If they have already turned their unfairly gained money into gold, this means that with our own hands we shall increase their economic power by a factor of 1.5. Incidentally, there never has been any gold in the stores and there is none now. But it seems that having predicted an increase in its cost, in recent months it has been bought up by those who can do this, that is, those who have large amounts of underground capital.

People frequently ask why the deputies have allowed a situation in which, in spite of their considerations, the government has still raised the price of gold? Here it is necessary to understand one very important thing. I would say that everyone must carry his own load. It is time to put an end to the confusion in the functions of the legislative and executive organs. Our task is to make laws that make it possible to give new quality to the economy and to control it so that laws are obeyed within its framework. And another thing: We must make sure that we are not making a mistake when we adopt laws or approve various members of the government.

But we must also give maximum freedom of economic behavior to the government and not tie its hands. Questions of current price setting are within its competence but one can hardly insist that the rules be followed unconditionally. And the deputy corps has the right to evaluate how the government has met its commitments and draw the corresponding conclusions.

This is why we recommend but do not interfere even if we do not agree with the proposed measures.

I am convinced that as long as the ruble is not money but merely a symbol for money, our public production will remain not an economy but a national business. In an economy people trade. In a business people distribute.

It is impossible to affect retail prices with the current condition of the monetary system, for if we do the rich will become richer and the poor will become even poorer. Our current money is not of full value: This is the result of the accumulation of the state debt which has taken place over several decades when the wage fund in the country as a whole exceeded the commodity mass. The "precipitated" difference for which there are no commodities is still affecting the consumer market. But these "empty" rubles can be bought up not only for goods but also for money if we introduce a parallel ruble exchange rate. The buying power of the new currency ruble, backed by the current output of goods, is higher than that of accumulated monetary symbols.

Incidentally, the sale of currency rubles for which one can buy any commodity is analogous to trade in securities which has already started. But the sale of current money which can be used immediately, I think, would be easier for people to understand. The fight against waiting lines and shortages can be waged via two paths: by providing goods for all of the existing monetary mass and by pumping out excess money. The first path is hardly realistic. All we have left is the second.

With valuable, convertible money it will be possible to buy up the devalued money. Of course there is the danger of machinations and abuses but one cannot get away from them when it comes to anything new. But the main thing is that people with relatively small accumulations, if they exchange them immediately, stand only to gain since the buying power of their money will increase sharply. And in the future some of the wages, pensions, grants, and stipends will be paid with the new money.

Money is the blood of the economy and the introduction of the "parallel ruble" is a kind of blood transfusion whereby healthy blood entering in portions displaces that which is infected with the incurable virus of inflation. The entire operation could take five-seven years during which the incentive for people to work well would

return. Our country has experience in such operations—the gold chernovets during the NEP [New Economic Policy]. It is also to be found abroad: In Hungary about 15-20 years ago they improved the forinth, and not without success.

Of course the realization of this idea would require a large amount of practical work and preparation as well as careful calculations. But the advantage is obvious: By exchanging old money for new, if the sum does not exceed the fair limit according to financial declarations concerning income sources, we shall turn the accumulations of the shadow economy into dust, especially if we prolong this operation.

Of course the idea of reforming the monetary system is only an idea. But I think it deserves discussion for it provides a real prospect for improving the country's finances. The economy like a horse must be brought down to earth on a rein for otherwise it can create many problems if it is left to run free.

Range of Licensable Exports, Imports Extended

LD2701180790 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—The Soviet Government has extended the range of licensed Soviet exports and imports and amended its March 1989 resolution which specified the licence-issuing procedure.

The Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations has been given the right to issue licences on the export of Tibetan medicine products, while the Ministry of Chemical and Oil-Refining Industry has been given the right to issue licences on the export of chemicals.

The import of pedigree cattle—cattle, sheep, goats and pigs—this year will be licensed and carried out with the permission of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations.

The export of yellow and red phosphorus from the Soviet Union will also be licensed. Licences will be issued by the Soviet agrochemical association Agrokhim.

Soviet customs bodies have been instructed to allow these goods across the Soviet border only if the suplier has a licence issued by a corresponding organisation, an official from the Council of Ministers' State Foreign Economic Commission told TASS.

The new rules come into force as of February 1, 1990.

Conversion's Effect on Aircraft Industry Noted

LD3101134990 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—It may be hard to recognize the connection between baby carriages, snow mobiles and supersonic fighter planes. However, they do have something in common: They are all produced (at least in the USSR) at military plants where conversion processes are occurring more and more intensively.

A press conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today discussed conversion in the aircraft building industry and its foreign economic relations, suggested ways to make the conversion process more effective. It was attended by senior executives of the aircraft building industry and directors of defence-sector aircraft building plants, which were security-restricted until recently. The defence sector of the economy accounts for 25 per cent of the Moscow workforce.

Conversion should concentrate on the production of modern civil aviation airplanes and effective motors, capable of reducing Aeroflot's average fuel consumption per passenger from the present 40 to 20 grams. Towards this goal, the defence sector already has advanced technology and skilled personnel, which have assured that Soviet warplanes rank among the best in the world, as was demonstrated by Soviet fighter planes at the latest air show in Le Bourget, France.

At present only four countries in the world can afford full-scale designing of aircraft motors. In the future their main parts will not be metal, but ceramic, carbon-carbon composite material etc.

Another promising sphere for conversion is the transfer of new technologies and materials to other industries. Scientific potential accumulated by the aircraft building industry could revolutionise many industries. Sophisticated household equipment could also be produced. And, finally, equipment for the light industry could be produced at arms manufacturing enterprises.

Conversion is complicated by the need to invest in the readjustment of production, the need to retrain the personnel and the imperfect character of the Soviet conversion programme.

Interesting Soviet ideas and technical developments often cannot be sold on the world market, because they have not been perfected. It was pointed out at the press conference that cooperation with foreign partners could help improve the situation. The exhibition "Aircraft Motor Building-90", due to be held in Moscow next March will be a step in this direction. The exhibition will show ways to convert motor building and will feature new motors. Aircraft builders interested in developing external relations plan to construct hotels and offices for foreign partners in order to attract foreign expertise.

New Design Rail Truck Tested for Universal Use

WA2601201690 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by V. Startsev: "On Narrow Gauge"]

[Text] Express trains connect our country with 27 states. Those who have been abroad know that a customs inspection is definitely accompanied by the tiresome and time-consuming transfer of cars to other rail trucks.

After all, the gauge is 100 mm narrower abroad. Specialists from the imeni Dimitrov Plant in Sofia and the VNIIZhT [All-Union Institute of Railway Transportation] in Moscow have offered an original technique: a rail truck which will fit any gauge.

The principle on which the new design operates is simple: An engine pushes the cars from the rear, and they move from the broad onto the narrower gauge. The rails themselves shift the wheels along the axle to the necessary width. Subsequently, a locking device clicks retaining the wheels in the desired position. The pushing engine moves away while another engine on the narrow gauge is coupled to the first car, and the train is ready for departure.

This entire operation is performed at low speeds; it takes very little time. Incidentally, it is performed in an automatic mode. The safety of traffic is guaranteed, and the passengers themselves do not even notice the moment when their car enters "the narrow gauge."

Bulgarian meritorious inventor Nikola Gaydarov developed the concept of this technique. It was implemented in metal by the Lyublino Foundry and Metal-Working Plant. Our scientists are the authors of technical specifications for the entire design. To be sure, this unique rail truck has one "drawback": It is 1.5 times more expensive than a conventional one. Still, its application is very promising and profitable. The specialists have calculated that the economic effect due to the use of the new design at one border crossing alone will amount to about R4 million a year.

Cars equipped with universal rail trucks have been tested at the VNIIZhT experimental track ring in Shcherbinka, in the vicinity of Moscow, and have traveled 250 kilometers without any accidents. The first runs of refrigerator cars with universal rail trucks through the Varna-Ilichevsk ferry complex have been scheduled. International passenger cars will also be equipped with new devices. It is planned to embark on the mass production of universal rail trucks this year.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Test New Equipment on Space Walk

Crew To Test 'Space Motorcycle'

LD0102093890 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—Two Soviet cosmonauts, having spent nearly five months aboard the Mir orbital space station, are expected to make their fourth spacewalk today. For the first time Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov will use a "space motorcycle", an independent manoeuvering device designed for work outside the station.

The airlock is scheduled to be open at 11:45 Moscow time. The "motorcycle" will be run through a variety of tests in outer space.

The 220-kilogramme device and a special space suit, "Orlandma", fitted with its own independent system of communications, telemetry and power source, were brought to the Mir space station on December 6 last year.

During the previous spacewalk on January 26 Viktorenko and Alexandrov [name as received] assembled a special docking device close to the airlock to accommodate the independent space manoeuvering device.

The "space motorcycle" is primarily designed for testing the systems of various space objects—from a satellite to the Buran shuttle spacecraft. It gives the cosmonaut wider room for manoeuvre, allows him to move around the orbital complex, to move away from it and rotate. The cosmonaut can also broadcast and shoot film at a distance of several dozen meters from the orbital complex.

Moscow TV Shows 'Armchair' Walk

LD0102114990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Feb 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; presented by Vladimir Molchanov]

[Text] As I understand it we may now have a linkup with the Flight Control Center. If so, then I hand over to our correspondents Petr Orlov and Sergey Slipchenko:

[Correspondent] Yes, that's so. We are now inside the Flight Control Center and quite honestly it is difficult to take your eyes off the large screen on the right at the Flight Control Center. Right now on the screen you see how Aleksandr Serebrov is some 5 meters from the station in a flying autonomous means of conveyance. They call it simply an armchair. At the moment is has moved away to a distance of 5 metres and has started rising a little bit. The thin cable that you can see is not a cable through which either communications or life support systems run. It is just a winch that insures a cosmonaut against all events so that he doesn't fly away forever into the distance from the station. [video shows wall of Flight Control Center with large central map and displays on each side; correspondent seated with others watching events; screen shows the cable connecting the cosmonaut to the station; views of Flight Control Center personnel at their desks] If you look now at the large map in the Flight Control Center—I'll ask our producers to show us it—look, at the very center of the map, virtually in the center of the Soviet Union, on the border with China, you can see a small dot. This dot is the Mir station, an enormous complex, and next to this dot, at a distance of several meters, is a man, in full isolation, in full autonomy. He is testing the armchair that in the future will help to service this enormous...[changes thought] that has already become an enormous home.

Even here in the Flight Control Center, on the board, it is difficult to read the names of all of the space objects that are docked together at the moment in orbit. They incude both the Mir module, the Mir station, the Kvant module, Kvant-2, Progress-TM and the Soyuz space ship. At the moment the third procedure is already being repeated. In the entire zone these procedures will be repeated, at a short distance, and today, after the cosmonauts have a rest, procedures will be carried out at a great distance, up to 40 meters. Cosmonaut Aleksandr Serebrov will be flying off and trying out this universal means of transporation. [video shows more views of the cable which links the cosmonaut—barely visible—and the ship—also barely visible at the bottom of the screen; more views of the map and personnel inside the Flight Control Centre]

We are now ending our reportage and we report to you that in special news bulletins, of which we have talked both yesterday and today, saying which time they would be broadcast, we try will to tell you in detail about this unique and unusual work, unique and unusual for Soviet cosmonauts. Over to Vladimir Molchanov in the studio of the "Vremya" program.

[Molchanov] Thank you. I'll expand Sergey Slipchenko's information with the following: Two special "Novosti" bulletins will be devoted to the cosmonauts' extravehicular activity beyond the confines of the Mir station, on Central Television's First Program, at 1345 [1045] GMT and 1530 [1230] GMT.

Moscow Radio Describes 'Spectacle'

LD0102114190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0945 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Mayak is interrupting its music propgram for a few minutes in order to hand over to our special correspondent at Flight Control Center, Vladimir Bezyayev.

[Bezyayev] Aleksandr Serebrov has just made his first steps in open space. If anyone has a pen to hand, write it down: On 1 February, at 1240 Moscow time. Yet another page has been turned in Soviet cosmonautics—the first step away from the station using the autonomous means for a cosmonaut's movement was just 5 meters. The flying armchair carrying the flight engineer moved smoothly away from the station, then stood still, then they checked the winch, they checked the brakes, they drew closer to the station again both using the winch and using the motors, then they repeated the procedure, and now Aleksandr Serebrov is moving away from the station for the third time.

The flying armchair really does remind one of a big armchair, equipped like any flying object with special flashing lights, and on it one can carry out movements over tens of meters. There is no sense in any bigger distance—there are transport craft for that— but for repair work, for fitting solar baterries and even for emergency rescue work, such a flying armchair is simply indispensible.

Now we can see how, in the dark of space, Aleksandr Serbrov's spacesuit is glistening, the winch line is drawn taught as a musical instrument's string. The winch will not be used when there is no reason, but these are the first steps, these are tests—and by the way this winch is a separate point in today's program, the testing of precisely this winch.

This flying armchair weighs 200 kilograms—imagine its mass—and in order to launch it, a whole series of special operations is carried out. In our previous reportages we told you, when they were testing the air lock, a special ladder is installed in it. The cosmonauts launch themselves from this ladder when all the oscillations have levelled out. It is very important here to have precise orientation; now they move exactly along the axis of the hatch. They look into the hatch in order to prevent any displacement meanwhile. They have to get used to everything.

Well, interesting work has begun in space. Unfortunately we cannot hear Aleksandr Serbrov too well at the moment, since he is linked via the station using the autonomous radio communications system, and we can hear Aleksandr Viktorenko the loudest. He is standing at the television camera and is monitoring all the actions of the flight engineer and is also, to put it figuratively, as they say, acting as his minder.

All in all this is an impressive spectacle. I racall Aleksey Arkhipovich Leonov's tale when he went into open space for the first time, how it struck him. I can only guess the feeling which Aleksandr Serebrov, candidate for Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy is experiencing at the moment, but right now he is cosmonaut test pilot. For the first time in the history of Soviet cosmonautics he is testing equipment which has not existed before, but without which our future is inconceivable.

Well, that is just the first procedure. The ones to come in space will also be intensive, and I hope to continue my story in our next reportage.

Military

Seminar on World War II Anniversary Held

LD3101215990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This year we are marking the 45th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War. German Sedov reports on what was discussed at a seminar today devoted to the occasion.

[Sedov] It has been a long time since such a representative gathering was held at the Central House of the Soviet Army. The presidium of the meeting included marshals of the Soviet Union, military chiefs, admirals, and frontline heroes. Those in the hall included veterans

from throughout the country, toilers in the rear area during the war years, and fresh generations of officers. [video shows Ogarkov, Akhromeyev, Sokolov, Kulikov, and other unidentified officers on the platform, and close-ups of some members of audience]

Our victory was truly a crucial event in the destiny of all mankind, said Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. Now in the times of perestroyka we must pay tribute to its significance. [video shows Lizichev at rostrum]

[G.A. Stefanovskiy, first deputy chief of the Main Political directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy—identified from screen caption; interviewed by Sedov] I should like to have in first place, of course, is the restoration of the historical truth about the war; second, it is now more necesary then ever before for us to think about and to show concern for veterans, to raise their living standards and to do everyting that the Soviet people can and should do for them so they do not feel like they have been neglected.

[Sedov] A final question, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich: Will there be an anniversary military parade?

[Stefanovskiy] We already have a decision by the Soviet Government to hold a victory parade, and we regard this as a great honor for the Armed Forces and are already beginning the preparations for this great event.

Moiseyev Interviewed

LD3101144390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1312 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 31 January (TASS)—"Contemporary Soviet military doctrine takes the form of a system of officially accepted basic views on preventing war, on military construction, on preparing the country and the armed forces to repulse aggression, and also on ways of waging and armed struggle to defend the socialist fatherland," stated Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He gave an interview to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy at an All-Union seminar of lecturers which opened today and which is devoted to the 45th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. This anniversary will be marked on 9 May.

In Gen. Moiseyev's opinion there are two special features of contemporary Soviet military doctrine which are new and most essential. As a sort of Soviet state law in the area of defense it is aimed not at preparing for war but at preventing it. Second, all program documents rule out the theoretical possibility of victory in any new world war as not in accordance with the realities of the nuclear age. The Soviet Union has begun to link both universal and national security with radically reducing the level of military confrontation, stopping the armed race and implementing measures for real disarmament, noted Mikhail Moiseyev.

Gen. Moiseyev went on to say that analysis of the military doctrines of NATO states, which were presented at the international seminar which ended recently in Vienna, indicates that they are undergoing certain changes for the better. Thus, Western states recognize the need "to adapt military strategy to the changing military and political situation in Europe," to increase the role of "the nonnuclear aspect of deterrence" and to increase the significance of dialogue with Warsaw Pact countries in formulating unified approaches to problems of bringing the sides' armed forces into line with the principle of "defense sufficiency."

At the same time, noted Mikhail Moiseyev, the doctrines of Western states, and primarily the United States, Great Britain, France and the FRG are still based on the far from defensive military-strategic concepts of "flexible response," "nuclear deterrence," "forward defense," and others. "In particular there are efforts to prove the need to maintain the U.S. military presence in Europe and to increase the role of the U.S. Navy in defending sea communications and safeguarding strategic movements to the European Continent" said the chief of the General Staff.

Lizichev Discusses Value of Army Political Organs

PM0102002190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, by PRAVDA military department's A. Gorokhov and V. Izgarshev: "Political Work and Might of Army"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Correspondents] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, recently there has been quite sharp criticism of the Army and Navy political organs; some people have even been expressing the idea of abolishing them. What do you think about this?

[Lizichev] We attentively analyze all such comments so as to extract the rational element from them. Constructiveness serves our common cause. I personally support such an approach. It is something else that alarms me: Criticism of the political organs sometimes entails a destructive attitude toward the CPSU. This is because the political organs of the Army and Navy are the party's leading organs in the Armed Forces, which naturally is a blow against them, too.

The ultimate political goal of the "abolitionists," as I see it, is quite clear: It is to undermine the fundamental party principle of our military building.

[Correspondents] But among the critics there are some who do not agree with the irresponsible statements of the "abolitionists"....

[Lizichev] I respect vigorous critics like those. Most often their proposals are a quite justified reaction to the slow perestroyka of party political work, bureaucratic

distortions in the activity of specific political organs, their duplication of the command and staff agencies, mistakes and shortcomings in the style and methods of leadership, and the assumption of uncharacteristic functions. Last year we discharged 18 political organ chiefs into the reserve, people who, as they say, were not up the mark professionally, morally, or politically. After all, our work is special. It demands concern for people, their moral health, and spiritual energy... Bureaucrats, loudmouths, intellectual dullards, and windbags are unsuited to political work.

[Correspondents] By what criteria is the role of the political organs in the Army judged? Why indeed do we have political organs rather than some other structures?

[Lizichev] Let me quote V.I. Lenin. He said that in any war victory is ultimately determined by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their own blood on the battlefield. There you have it: The molding and strengthening of the moral-political condition and spirit of troops is not a random process but the result of purposeful party political and political education work which, as the history and logic of the development of military work showed, should be conducted in modern armies by special sociopolitical institutions. The need for their existence is recognized—and not only by us. Recently we have been fond of citing Western experience. I would note that there are political institutions in all the NATO armies, including the U.S. Army. And no one doubts the need for their existence.

Why political organs? In the first place, it is via political organs as the party's leading organs in the Army and Navy that its vanguard and consolidating role in military building is implemented.

Second, the process of shaping servicemen's socialist consciousness demands a high level of competence from the people engaged in political education. After all, no one would think, for example, of putting an untrained man in charge of a complex weapon. How can a nonspecialist be put in charge of such a complex sphere of activity as people's political education?

Third, political organs are most suited to the aims and tasks which the Army resolves. It prepares itself for the defense of the country. And its entire organization, including in the political work sphere, must be subordinated to that goal.

And finally, the work of political organs in the area of the political education of personnel is far broader and more comprehensive than if this work were performed by a party committee. After all, the Army doesn't just consist of Communists. Therefore, the political organ, unlike the party committee, is endowed with all the powers for working directly among the masses and in conjunction with the commanders to exert political influence on personnel.

[Correspondents] Some PRAVDA readers are asking: Why cannot local party committees take over the functions of the political organs and Army and Navy party organizations work with them?

[Lizichev] I believe that these proposals stem from a desire for the notorious total political leveling. People think: Since the existing structure of political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces does not fit in with some people's understanding of this question, it is necessary to change this structure.

However, following the logic of these comrades, let us ask: Is it conceivable for Armed Forces party committees to assume the leaderhip of plant and collective farm party organizations? The answer, I believe, is obvious. However, the Armed Forces too are a specific organism. And the "product" of military labor is special too—it is the combat readiness of the troops and their morale.

Frequently servicemen do their service and subunits and units implement their alert duty far from the places of their permanent stationing. How, in these conditions, could local party committees act as efficient and effective organs of leadership of Army and Navy party organizations?

[Correspondents] What about turning political organs from the lowest to the highest level into elective organs while preserving their present structure?

[Lizichev] Outwardly this proposal looks attractive. I would not like to reject it out of hand, so to speak. However, when putting forward specific proposals it is necessary to work out the consequences which their implementation may have. For instance, an elected official is responsible to those who elected him, and, formally speaking, a commander will not be the supreme authority for him. This will call in question the implementation of the main principle of military building—one-man command.

[Correspondents] Sometimes we hear demands "to put an end to the ominous role of the political organs created under Stalin," and claims that the political organs "were created by Stalin and inordinately inflated by Brezhnev"...

[Lizichev] It is true that attempts are made to persuade uninformed readers that the political organs were created by Stalin. The logic of these arguments is simple: Since it was Stalin, it must be very bad, and what he created must be destroyed without delay. These arguments do not correspond to the historical truth. Even by the end of 1918, political departments were in existence on all fronts of the civil war, in almost all the armies and divisions of the Red Army. Most of the delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) supported V.I. Lenin's proposal to create a central political organ in the Red Army.

Throughout their history, political organs firmly ensured the day-to-day influence of the Communist Party on the

life and work of the Army and Navy and tirelessly strengthened their combat might. They made an invaluable contribution to the organization of the armed defense of the Soviet motherland. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, 342 political officers were decorated with the title hero of the Soviet Union.

As for Stalin's role in the fate of the political organs, it was truly sinister. The mass reprisals of the thirties, forties, and fifties did not bypass political officers either. The leading nucleus of the political personnel of the Workers and Peasants Red Army perished before the war.

Fortunately, neither the crudest of mistakes, nor the tyranny, nor the deviations from the principles of socialism were able to divert our people and our country from the path they chose in 1917. And when the country was attacked by fascist Germany, political organs, commissars, deputy commanders for political affairs, and political leaders conveyed to the masses of servicemen faith in victory and faith in the party and in the triumph of our just cause.

The theory that the political organs were "inflated" under Brezhnev does not hold water either. At that time I served in various political personnel posts, including chief of okrug political directorates and of a group of forces, and I do not recall a single instance where the number of political organ staffers increased.

[Correspondents] What are the characteristics of a political officer in our Armed Forces today?

[Lizichev] His average age is 33. Almost 95 percent have higher education. Around 85 percent of political staffers work directly in the forces and the fleets. Among the political officers 2.1 percent are journalists, 6.6 percent are cultural and enlightenment establishment workers, 5.1 percent are military higher educational establishment social science teachers, and 16 percent are full-time secretaries of party and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League committees.

The apparatus of the political organs themselves is small—it accounts for just over 1 percent of the total officer staff. Its maintenance costs only slightly exceed the price of one AN-124 military transport aircraft produced in series production. The political structures in the U.S. and NATO armies are no smaller in terms of their numerical strength and cost.

For the uninitiated it will probably be interesting to learn that a substantial section of political officers are directly implementing alert duty and military service tasks in teams and crews. On the assessment of inspection teams, our political officers drive combat machines, shoot, and fly as well as their commanders.

[Correspondents] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, but is not the most important thing for a political officer his main speciality, that is, being an engineer of human souls, so to speak....

[Lizichev] This is correct. Unfortunately, this is more difficult to express in figures, and no special grading system has as yet been devised for political personnel. However, we directly associate the enhancement of the political activeness of servicemen, workers and employees, and members of their families, which is evident in all the structures of the military organism, with the work of political organs. The efforts of the Army and Navy community aimed at a fundamental, radical refashioning of the sociopolitical image, functions, and tasks of the Soviet Armed Forces have never been more exacting.

But there are serious complaints against their work here. Some of them have still not grasped the political initiative, have divorced themselves to one extent or another from people's real problems and concerns, and, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his report at the Main Military Council in October last year, lag behind local party committees in perestroyka. Often the leaders of political organs themselves avoid the acute questions of our modern life and shy away from polemics. And the price we are paying now for repeating hackneyed truisms is, as a rule, the distrust in us of some military servicemen and members of their families.

I stress once more: We ourselves are dissatisfied with much in the work of political organs; we have difficult problems relating to political, moral, and military education, discipline, law and order, and communal life. Such abominations as pulling rank, favoritism, careerism, vulgarity, and the high-handedness of certain officials must be combated more keenly and rigorously. Great efforts are needed to raise the standing of the army and navy political worker. This point, incidentally, was made recently by participants in an all-army officers' meeting. The best means of winning people's respect is to be useful to them and serve them.

[Correspondents] Many readers, especially those who still have to serve in the Army, would like you to describe the basic functions of the political organs....

[Lizichev] The functions of political organs are defined by the CPSU Statutes and the special provision on political organs which is being ratified by the CPSU Central Committee. A new provision has been prepared. But the 28th Party Congress will be held soon. It will adopt new programmatic documents and, of course, they will be reflected in the provision on political organs. In a nutshell, the most important task has been entrusted to Army and Navy political organs—that of strengthening the political and moral state of personnel, military discipline, and law and order. Political organs exercise the day-to-day leadership of Army and Navy party organizations. As a whole the Army party organization today is one of the CPSU's largest detachments, numbering over 1 million Communists.

[Correspondents] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, we cannot, of course, overlook the events in the Transcaucasus today.

Army subunits and units are operating there. What can you say about the actions of political organs and political workers?

[Lizichev] Army and Navy political organs today find themselves at the sharp end of many events occurring in a number of parts of the country, including the Transcaucasian republics. Political workers have shown themselves to advantage there and are in the thick of the masses. They are conducting a complex dialogue with the population, the local authorities, and the leaders of informal movements. They are helping to eliminate the most acute shortage these days—the information famine. I cannot fail to name USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, Colonel V. Salimullin, Major Yu. Sagutchenko, and Senior Lieutenant Ye. Poleshchuk. These and other political workers have shown their very best side both among the troops and among the local population. People believe them and follow them.

[Correspondents] You have said that political structures exist in all the world's armies. Describe them.

[Lizichev] Political (ideological) institutions really do exist in one form or another in all the world's armies. In the U.S. Army an entire system of moral and political training—which includes, above all, public relations services, military chaplains, and rear services personnel—is aimed at molding the morale of servicemen. The public relations service, which is headed by an assistant defense secretary, directly tackles information and propaganda work among the troops. It has corresponding leading and executive organs among the troops at all levels. The activity of this service is founded on considerable resources and means. Corresponding work is also conducted in the course of combat training. People there do not lull themselves with regard to letting things take their course in educational and ideological work and do not rely on what is called "chance" in common Russian parlance. And the mass media there, by the way, do not blacken the Army but revere military service as a first-class thing.

[Correspondents] As already reported, political organs have undergone changes in the armed forces of a number of Warsaw Pact countries. What would you say about this?

[Lizichev] Organs for educational work among personnel are now being created in Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Questions of the leadership of party, youth, and trade union work have been excluded from their sphere of activity. The fundamental sociopolitical transformations under way in the Warsaw Pact countries are the chief reason for the transformation of political organs. The political traditions in those armies have also left their mark. All this is, of course, an internal matter for the allied countries.

[Correspondents] How do you see the Army and Navy political organs in the future?

[Lizichev] The new political thinking and the practical realization of the theses of the new military doctrine have once again set the Army and Navy political organs the age-old task of being out in front. And not only as the heralds of these processes in Army and Navy life but together with military councils and commanders—their architects and organizers. I see the political department as an organ that is in the highest degree democratic, intelligent, cordial, and close to all people. When someone tells me that political organs have become obsolete, I believe that this is not dialectics, that the person has not noticed how he has failed to connect with history or to understand it, that he does not really see the realities of the present day, while "rally" euphoria hides tomorrow from him.

I recently reread Leonid Maksimovich Leonov. And this is what I committed to memory: "Any work on the human soul demands intelligence, tact, an individual approach, and a skilled hand; if one of these points is not observed, you usually end up, as frequently happens in our country, with a deceased person, even though he is capable of moving, breaking windows, and taking food. In no other operating theater is such sterility needed as here, so as not to introduce the infection of callousness, insincerity, or falsehood into the dissected body. It is even desirable that the patient should not suspect at all the invasion being made into his consciousness..."

I would very much like the Army and Navy political organs and political workers to be in possession of all the aforesaid "points...."